

**A SUMMARY**  
**OF**  
**UNIVERSAL HISTORY;**  
**IN NINE VOLUMES.**

**EXHIBITING**  
**THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE**  
**DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,**  
**FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

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**TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF**  
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**OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.**

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**VOL. VI.**

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY

IN NINE VOLUMES.

FROM THE CREATION OF THE  
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE  
THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE



TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF  
M. ANTOINETTE  
BY THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND LETTERS OF  
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UNIVERSAL HISTORY  
OF  
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

COMMERCE.

**T**HE history of commerce is the history of the avarice of individuals and of nations; but it is the history also of the prosperity and decline of empires. Commerce procures riches; riches create power; and power supplies a small state with the means of contending against a great one. Commerce changes the face of the earth. It covers the sea with ships; unites nations separated by immense distances; civilizes savage tribes; excites a spirit of industry, and overcomes idleness and sloth. Equally active as ambition, it prescribes to itself no bounds; and unless increased and extended, declines, and perishes. Commerce has made the tour of the world by routes which it found open; by others which it opened for itself, and which it will perhaps one day resume according to the changes

that may be produced on the globe by the convulsions of nature, the interests of princes, or other events favourable or unfavourable to its progress. It is of importance then to be acquainted with those routes; the places which have served as the magazines of commerce; the obstacles it experienced, and the circumstances by which it has been promoted. A knowledge of all these will be acquired from the history of the commerce of the Indies, both ancient and modern.

Ancient  
Commerce.

Commerce between neighbouring states has at all times existed. Mankind had wants, and they accommodated each other by exchanging their superfluities. The utility or beauty of certain articles made them objects of desire. Those who felt this desire went to search for them where they abounded, in order to acquire a profit which might enable them to procure a sufficiency, and even superfluity of necessaries. Hence arose commerce between distant nations. The commerce of Asia with Africa; of Africa with Europe; that of Carthage, Greece, and Phœnicia, and of all these countries with each other, have been traced out with as much accuracy as possible. Commerce by caravans was without doubt the oldest. It was carried on at a very early period by the Ishmaelites, who transported the spices of Arabia to Egypt; but it appears that the Arabs grew tired of giving up



to agents that profit which they could appropriate to themselves. Their situation near the Persian gulph suggested the idea, and afforded them the means of landing on the shores of India, and of carrying thither their productions in their own bottoms, and bringing back those of India. The Greeks, among whom these articles were deposited in order to pass through their hands to other parts of Europe, were totally unacquainted with the route by which they received them.

Alexander, who had great views, established several staples of commerce, among which were the celebrated Alexandria. This city might be compared to one of those large lakes, which receiving rivers from unknown sources, discharges them in small streams to fertilize the adjacent countries. It appears that the commerce of India, and above all China, flowed through the North, Tartary, and Russia, through which it still endeavours to find a passage. It has been conjectured also, that the Chinese, or rather the Japanese, made their way to Europe by having lost themselves in the great northern ocean; and this may have first suggested the idea of doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But these accidental passages, if they really took place, were not owing to commerce, but to storms, and other fortuitous circumstances at sea.

The ancient commerce has marked out in a more distinct manner its places of rest than its

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

route. Among the most celebrated staples are reckoned Samarcand, Bassorah, Aleppo, Bokara, Cabul, Candahar, and, above all, the magnificent Palmyra. Can it be supposed that a city surrounded by deserts could acquire, without the assistance of commerce, a splendour which rendered it the astonishment of the universe? Commerce also, without doubt, left many traces of its passage among the parched sands, interposed between trading cities; such as edifices for the reception of strangers; cisterns to quench their thirst; monuments of luxury, as columns and obelisks, which are less likely to be the work of destructive conquerors, than of merchants interested in leaving marks to direct the traveller, and places of refreshment for themselves, in case they should ever again pass that way, or to be of benefit to those who might think proper to follow them.

Commerce  
of the Ge-  
noese and  
Venetians.

Wherever there is consumption, there commerce will end. While Rome was mistress of the universe, the merchandize of India flowed thither through Egypt, one of her tributary provinces; but when Constantine had divided the empire of this queen of the world, commerce changed the direction of its course, and, without neglecting Egypt, which remained in the hands of the Greek emperors, supplied Constantinople with provisions through Persia. The grand magazine of this trade was Cufa, the best

port of the Crimea on the Black Sea. The cities of Italy, which had before found at Rome the spices, the rich stuffs, the precious wood, and the jewels, with which it supplied the rest of Europe, went in search of these Indian riches; some to the magazine on the Black Sea, as was the case with the Genoese, who established themselves at Cufa under the protection of the Greek emperors; and from being patronized merchants, became masters. The Venetians pursued the way of Egypt and Alexandria, and received the valuable productions of India from the mahometans, who had already diffused their religion throughout the fertile countries on the Indus and the Ganges, as far as the shores of the Spice Islands, and had made it a foundation for their commerce. Several of the Italian cities, such as Florence, Pisa, and many others, united their capitals to those of the Venetians and Genoese, and shared in their profit, which became the source of their opulence. They transported these articles of merchandize to Germany, where their factors arrived to receive them at certain places, and fixed times; and this gave rise to the great fairs, such as that of Frankfort, the staple of the Hanse-towns, which afterwards supplied the whole north, and transmitted through Flanders their spices to France and to Spain.

This taste for spices was far from being so general at first as it became at later periods.



Pliny expresses astonishment that they should have been in so much request: "For there are things," says he, "which are agreeable to the sight, the smell, and the taste; but pepper has nothing that can afford gratification to any of these senses." The same reflection might be made in regard to articles for which whole nations conceive a fondness, such as tobacco. The aversion of Pliny was, however, not contagious. It, on the contrary, appears, that it was by the Roman governors that the use of spices, as well as a taste for and desire of obtaining the valuable merchandize of India, was diffused to the remotest parts of the empire; but in Europe, people were contented with the enjoyment of that luxury without any desire of exploring the country which produced it. This desire was excited by the crusades; and favourable circumstances, much to the benefit of commerce, procured a knowledge which was sought for merely through political motives, and to ensure success to these warlike expeditions.

It was natural that the crusaders, who had taken up arms against the Mahometans, should endeavour by some powerful diversion to weaken the strength of the enemy whom they attacked. Having heard of the exploits of Gengis Khan, the destroyer of the empire which the followers of Mahomet had established in Persia and Chaldaea, the European princes dispatched ambassa-

dors, who were charged to excite him to continue operations which were so advantageous to them. These ambassadors traversed Tartary, in order to reach the court of that great monarch; and by these means had an opportunity of procuring information respecting those parts of India which Gengis Khan had conquered. Travellers, emboldened by these attempts, continued their discoveries. Their relations excited a desire of being better acquainted with a country from which productions so useful, and works so agreeable, were procured; a country, respecting which so many wonderful tales were told, capable of gratifying curiosity, though they presented no hope of advantage; but an able monarch found means to render useful to his people, what to others would have been only matter of vain speculation.

John I. raised to the throne by his courage and good conduct, though only the natural son of his predecessor, reigned in Portugal about the beginning of the fifteenth century. In mounting the throne, he engaged to maintain, at the same time, a civil and a foreign war, both of which he brought to a happy conclusion. He then began to think of finding employment for the brave and enterprising men, produced by that critical period, in order to prevent them from disturbing the tranquillity which had been restored in his states. He had five sons, to whom

Commerce of  
the Portu-  
guese, 1417.

he gave an excellent education. Don Henry, the second, shewed an early taste for travelling; and his father saw him with pleasure acquire mathematical and geographical knowledge proper for directing such enterprizes. They began under John I. who, however, had not the satisfaction of seeing discoveries carried to any extent. Under his reign they were confined to the island of Madeira, to which an Englishman, flying with his mistress from the persecution of his relations, had already retired to conceal his amours. The Portuguese found a monument which attested the abode of this happy couple in that solitude.

Don Henry, after the death of Don John, put himself at the head of these enterprizes, bequeathed to him, as we may say, by his father. He took possession of the Canary Isles, which were given up to him by a Frenchman named Béthancourt; and his right to them was confirmed by his nephew king Alphonso. According to the prejudice which ascribed to the pope a power of dispensing crowns, Portugal caused to be ceded to it exclusively by a diploma from pope Martin V. all the lands which should be discovered as far as the Indies. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz discovered Cape *Tormentoso* \*, so called because he had there encountered most dreadful storms; but king Alphonso, persuaded

\* This is a Portuguese word, which signifies *tempestuous*.  
TRANS.



that this cape pointed out the extremity of Africa, and that having once doubled it, the sea would be found open to the Indies, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. After this period discoveries assumed a character of more general utility, and became an affair of state.

In this point of view they were considered by John II. surnamed the Perfect, who succeeded king Alphonso. In 1494 he equipped a small squadron under Vasco de Gama, and dispatched after it a second, much stronger, filled with regular troops, commanded by Alvarez de Cabral, who had orders to second the efforts of Diaz. The latter returned crowned with success and loaded with riches, which excited great emulation in the kingdom; but the Portuguese experienced obstacles to their conquests from the mahometans, who seeing themselves on the point of being deprived of the commerce of the Indies by the Europeans, united against these intruding navigators. Francis Albuquerque, whose name has become so famous in the commercial history of India, was commissioned to attack this formidable league. He is considered as the founder of the Portuguese power in India, because he was the first who built there a fortress, together with a chapel. In this manner, say the Portuguese, he took possession both temporal and spiritual: yet before that period there had

been a viceroy named Francis de Almeyda, who by his valour and prudence had spread along the whole coast a terror of the Portuguese arms. The jealousy excited between men who have acquired great merit by their actions prevents them from agreeing long in the same place, and even induces them sometimes to do injury to each other. It was found necessary to recal the viceroy, and the supreme power was conferred on Albuquerque under the title of commandant-general. On being invested with this high office, he began to execute certain operations, the plan of which had been concerted by the royal council, assisted by the king himself, Don Emanuel, who, by a phenomenon very rare among princes, was as able as his father and grandfather, and as fit as they to continue the projects which had been begun. It was this perseverance which rendered Portugal, though a small kingdom, a great and mighty power.

It is generally agreed that this preponderance was owing chiefly to the superior talents of Francis Albuquerque, who had all the qualities necessary for the commander of a distant enterprise. With a handful of troops he performed great exploits; took Malacca, Calicut, and Ormuz, places of great importance to the commerce of the mahometans; and established himself at Goa, which is still the seat of the Portuguese empire in India. It is indeed confessed

that he was indebted for his success as much to his abilities and political talents, as to the armies and fleets which he commanded. Albuquerque, attached to the ancient simplicity of his country, did not suffer himself to be corrupted, either by the power or the riches which he possessed. Being well acquainted with the Indian character, he affected great magnificence on public occasions; but amidst this splendour he admitted no relaxation in his early habits, and lived as frugally as any individual. What was due to the crown he exacted with rigour; but he never thought of improving his own private fortune, being satisfied with the income arising from his appointments.

All Albuquerque's officers were his friends. He took as much care to form them as the most tender father can take of the education of his children. He was cautious in punishing, and ready to reward. At table, his whole conversation was occupied with the gallant actions of his officers; but he observed silence respecting his own. It is remarked as a singular trait in his character, that he never promoted any of those who attempted to insinuate themselves into his favour by flattery. Under his administration, flatterers, cowards, and dishonest persons, were always excluded from offices. With so many noble qualities, this hero was not free from faults. He had unbounded ambition, an



immoderate desire of extending the dominion of the Portuguese, and was not very scrupulous in regard to the justice of the means. In private life, Albuquerque was a man of the most rigid probity; but truth refuses the same encomium to his public character.

He had conceived, it is said, two grand projects; one of a statesman, had it been practicable, and the other of a plunderer. Imagining that the Venetians, sooner or latter, might be able to make the Indian commerce resume its course through Alexandria; and perceiving that, with this view, they assisted the Turks and barbarians against the Portuguese; Albuquerque insinuated to the emperor of Ethiopia, that, in order to secure himself against these dangerous neighbours, he ought to change the course of the Nile, by opening for it a passage by which it might discharge itself into the Arabian sea before it entered Egypt. By these means it would have been impossible to transport the merchandize of India from the Red Sea to Alexandria; and the Portuguese, master of the passages by the ocean, would have been in exclusive possession of this commerce. The second project was to send from Ormuz to Arabia, which is only seventy leagues distant, three hundred cavalry, who appeared to him sufficient, to plunder the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca. Besides the immense riches which would have

been acquired by this enterprize, Albuquerque foresaw, that as it would put a stop to pilgrimages, that branch of the Indian commerce, carried on through Arabia, would be intercepted, and enrich the Portuguese nation.

It is to be remarked, that Albuquerque died in disgrace. His inflexible equity had raised up against him a great number of enemies, who endeavoured to persuade the king, that his general paid more attention to his own interests than to those of his master. Fearing, unfortunately, that government would not watch over the preservation of Goa, with that care which the importance of the place required, he demanded it, under the title of a duchy. This demand accomplished more than his enemies. It gave umbrage to the king, and inspired him with a resolution of putting the government into other hands. Albuquerque was sick when he learned that his enemy had been sent to supersede him. "What!" exclaimed he, "Soarez governor of the Indies! Vasconcellos and Diego Peirez, whom I ordered to be conveyed to Portugal as criminals, sent back with honour! I have incurred the hatred of men for the love of my king, and meet with disgrace from the king for my love towards men! To thy grave, unhappy old man! it is time. To thy grave." He died at the age of sixty-three, in the midst of his triumphs, uni-

versally esteemed, but an example of the too common ingratitude of princes.

Commerce is the free communication of things, necessary, useful, and agréable; but avarice persuades nations, that to secure this communication, they have a right to employ violence, and to compel those who refuse to exchange their superfluities. For this reason, Albuquerque thought himself authorized to build fortresses among the people whose treasures the Portuguese coveted. He erected them, he said, to defend his countrymen from the insults they might experience from the natives of the country, or the mahometans who enjoyed their confidence, and would not suffer themselves, without making reprisals, to be deprived of a gain to which they had been accustomed. But what right have nations to punish acts of injustice which they go to provoke? The Portuguese at first asked only for a place of residence, a factory, and a warehouse to secure their merchandize from the injuries of the weather: they then seized upon towns, and afterwards provinces and kingdoms. These usurpations, begun by Almeyda and Albuquerque, were continued by their successors.

In less than fifty years the Portuguese founded an astonishing empire, which on the one side extended as far as the extreme coasts of Persia. They were masters, as it were, of the whole



Persian gulph. From some of the petty princes of Arabia they received tribute; with others they were in alliance; by all they were respected and dreaded. On the one side of Arabia they were connected with the empire of Ethiopia, at whose court they were in great credit. Almost all the ports on the coast of India and the frontiers of Persia were in their hands. They possessed the whole coast of Malabar, that of Coromandel and Bengal, the town and peninsula of Malacca, while the large island of Ceylon, and those of Sonda, were tributary to them. The Moluccas were entirely under their dominion: in a word, they had an establishment at China, and liberty of trading with Japan.

The most flourishing state of this empire was 1554.  
under the viceroy Don Constantine de Braganza. The authority of the person who occupied this post was unlimited in regard to military affairs. His tribunal decided in the first instance, and without freedom of appeal, in all civil cases; but he could not without the king's approbation put to death a Portuguese gentleman; and all in the king's service are considered as entitled to that rank. There was no other counterpoise to this great power than the shortness of its duration, which was fixed at three years. The ample income arising from his appointments enabled him to live with magnificence, which was the more necessary, as he had command over several kings, either tributaries or vassals. The

Portuguese had factories in the ports of these princes, set an arbitrary price on the productions and manufactures of the country, and pretended to the right of preference in buying or selling; so that the mahometans, and even the native Indians, found themselves absolutely excluded from commerce. The Portuguese, by these means, accumulated immense riches in gold and precious stones, spices, valuable kinds of wood, drugs, and stuffs, which their fleets went in quest of to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, the gulph of Bengal, the kingdoms of Camboja, the Deccan, Malacca, Patan, and Siam; the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Moluccas; and even to China and Japan. These riches were conveyed to Portugal, where all the nations of Europe went to purchase them at whatever price the Portuguese thought proper to put upon them.

It needs, therefore, create no surprize that so small a kingdom should be able to equip prodigious fleets, and to send so many people to these remote countries. Their prosperity, and a desire of participating in their riches, caused a continual influx of strangers among them both in Europe and in the Indies. It must here be observed, that this commerce was much more advantageous than it has been since that period; because the Portuguese having no competitors, found no opposition to the tolls which they im-

posed upon merchandize the productions of the country. On the one side they depreciated, on the other enhanced, to an extraordinary degree, the value of the European merchandize, of which they were the only distributors. Thus they accumulated immense fortunes, which having attained to their utmost extent among individuals, and the nation in general, declined rapidly, by that destructive corruption which is inseparable from overgrown wealth, as well as by foreign causes.

When that enthusiasm for glory which had guided the first Portuguese adventurers to more opulent countries had subsided, and when their power was fully established, there remained nothing for those who followed them but a desire to amass wealth. These sordid views introduced a corruption of morals, the consequence of immense riches, absolute power, and excessive luxury. That sincere piety, that generous courage, and the indefatigable industry, which had made the first conquerors be considered as superior to humanity, soon disappeared. Their successors became lazy and indolent, cowardly, and debauched. Discord prevailed among those who governed; and by inconveniences which it was impossible for the mother country to obviate speedily, at such a distance, there arose several viceroys at the same time, who disputed with each other for the supreme authority. The



consequence was, that the chiefs made themselves independent, while insubordination prevailed among the people, and want of discipline among the troops. The unfortunate state of Portugal, which, by the imprudence and tragical death of its king, Don Sebastian, had fallen under the Spanish sceptre, gave a mortal blow to the important colony in India. It found itself involved in the wars which Spain carried on in Europe; and it experienced the effects of them at a time when the Portuguese had excited the hatred of the Indians by their imperious character, the severity of their government, and their obstinacy in endeavouring to expel from the country the Arabs, the Mestize, and the blacks, their only rivals in commerce.

Hitherto oppressed, and unable to resist the great forces which arrived every year from Lisbon, these mahometans maintained with difficulty a precarious commerce. They emerged, however, with ardour from that state of subjection as soon as they could flatter themselves with the hopes of being supported by the Dutch, with whom they made a common cause against the Portuguese. Enured to fatigue, and firmly united; having every thing to hope, and nothing to lose; these industrious Hollanders were engaged against a nation divided in its councils, depraved in its morals, and detested by its subjects and neighbours; so that they even found means to

establish themselves in some of the distant islands. Assisted by fresh recruits, which arrived from the Netherlands, they supplanted the Portuguese, and stripped them of their domains by intrigue, in less time than the latter had acquired them by the force of their arms.

The Portuguese had five principal settlements for their commerce: Goa the capital, Mozambique, Ormuz, Mascate, Ceylon, and Malacca.

The island of Mozambique, though adjacent to the coast of Africa, if considered in a commercial view, belongs rather to India. It is situated at the distance of half a league from the continent. Its bay forms a port, and it has an excellent fortress. It is inhabited by people of all nations, and all religions, to the number of about three or four thousand. The soil is exceedingly barren; but all the conveniences of life are procured from the continent, as well as rich merchandize, such as gold in bars and in dust, silver, ebony, ivory, the best slaves on the coast, cattle, poultry, palm wine, fruits, and roots; for which they give in exchange Spanish and Canary wine, oil, silk, cotton-stuffs, coral, shells which serve as money, and toys of all kinds. This government is very productive, and a fortune may be soon acquired in it; but at the expense of enduring the inconvenience of excessive heat, and running the risk of the unwholesomeness of the climate.

Mozambique.

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Ormuz.

Ormuz, situated at the entrance of the Persian gulph, is a rock of salt without a drop of fresh water. It has two indifferent ports, but in the bay ships may lie at anchor with safety. Its situation has long rendered it one of the most celebrated places of trade in the east. It affords a striking example of what may be done by commerce; since with this single rock, and a very small district opposite to it on the continent, the kings of Ormuz were monarchs whose alliance was courted by the most powerful sovereigns. Its ports were filled with ships from every part of the Indies; from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia. The riches they carried thither were transported chiefly to Basforah; thence by the caravan to Aleppo, or by sea to Suez, and afterwards by land or by the Nile to Alexandria, whither the Venetians went to receive them. This was the principal source of their commerce.

We may form some opinion of that of Ormuz by the description of this small island during the two seasons of its being visited by foreign nations, in January and February, September and October, when the power of the Portuguese shone forth in its full splendour. Ormuz, at that time, was the wonder of the world. A continual stir was observed among those who frequented it; some of whom, it may be said, came from the remotest boundaries of the globe,



to collect the fruits of traffic. Every thing exhibited a spectacle of pleasure and of joy. The saline dust of the streets was concealed by neat mats and rich carpets. The passengers were protected from the scorching rays of the mid-day sun by awnings which projected from the roofs of the houses. The apartments next the street were decorated with Indian cabinets, and piles of the most beautiful porcelain, intermixed with shrubs and odoriferous plants in gilt vases, ornamented with various figures. Camels laden with water were found at the corners of all the streets. The most delicious wines of Persia, the most exquisite perfumes, and every luxury that the east can furnish, were displayed here in the utmost profusion.

During the continuance of each season, which might be about six weeks, a variety of different scenes attracted the notice of the curious observer. Artifice and gravity prevailed on the exchange; an air of officious politeness shone forth in the shops. The Portuguese officers, both civil and military, distinguished themselves by haughty looks and a consequential gait. An air of admiration and contentment was displayed in the eyes of the spectators, and of transport and joy in the public places, where ropedancers, tumblers, quacks, fortune-tellers, and other people of the like kind, exercised their talents to amuse and deceive the multitude.

The caravans from Aleppo to Bassorah, consisting of three or four thousand camels, and five or six thousand persons, brought to Ormuz twice a year the merchandize of Europe. Those which traversed Persia, and which were no less richly laden, completed their journey also at Ormuz, whither the valuable articles of India were conveyed by the commerce established with Malacca. The Portuguese exacted duties for all merchandize as well as provisions, and reserved to themselves exclusively some branches of commerce, such as that with pearls and horses; but they suffered this valuable port to be taken from them by the Persians, in conjunction with the English. After the island fell under the power of the former, the trade was transferred to Bender Abassi, but not in the hands of the Portuguese. Ormuz has been depopulated. The Dutch, under the pretence of procuring ballast, carried away even the materials of the houses. At present it is deserted, and there scarcely remain a few ruins to indicate that it was formerly the grand magazine of the east.

Mafcate.

It is sufficiently seen by what has been said of Mozambique and Ormuz in what the commerce of India chiefly consists, what are its objects, its advantages, and the manner of carrying it on. I shall, at present, therefore, mention only such of the Portuguese possessions as appear most worthy of notice, either among those they retain,

or those they have lost. Mascate is among the number of the latter. Situated on a small bay of Arabia the Happy, possessing an excellent harbour, and defended by natural means, assisted by those of art, it is styled a terrestrial paradise inhabited by angels. It is a terrestrial paradise, because the valleys by which it is surrounded are fertile, and covered with flowers; because they produce all our fruits, and even our grapes, as well as those of India; and because they afford nourishment to herds of cattle, with which a great trade is carried on as well as with the productions of the earth. It is said to be inhabited by angels; because these mahometan sages have purified the morality of the Koran. They abstain not only from wine and strong liquors, but even from tea and coffee, as beverages rather sensual than useful. As frugal and temperate in eating as they are in other things, they have no law against debauchery, because it is unknown to them. They are strangers also to robbery; and justice is exercised without severity. They are exceedingly charitable, and their charity is the offspring of mildness and benignity. Their commercial business is transacted in the day-time. No trade is allowed, nor are the crews of any vessel suffered to go on shore, after sun-set. An Arab prince is the ruler of this town, and of the surrounding district, which



the Portuguese lost by their pride and injustice towards other trading nations.

On the coast of Malabar, in general, as far as Cape Comorin, of which the Portuguese formerly had almost the exclusive possession, they are now intermixed with the English, the Dutch, the French, and the petty sovereigns of the country, who have successively recovered a great part of their possessions. Diu, still a considerable town, situated on an agreeable peninsula, is the mart of Guzarat. Vessels are attracted thither by the provisions and other refreshments, which the Portuguese take care to provide at a reasonable price. Daman withstood the attack of Aureng-Zeb. Its commerce has been crushed by the English at Bombay, who caused the Portuguese to cede to them that port, which is the best on the coast of Malabar. Chaul has remained in the hands of the Portuguese, but they have lost Onor. It is in the possession of the natives, as well as Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor and Coulam, all places of importance for the pepper trade. The Dutch obliged the Portuguese to restore them to the natives, by forming alliances with some of them themselves.

The Maldivia islands are despised by the Portuguese writers as being of little utility, and peopled by wretched and barbarous inhabitants.

But the king of these islands, the number of which is not known, styles himself, *Sultan of the thirteen provinces and twelve thousand isles*. Neither the one or the other are entitled to credit. These isles are not of so much importance as their sovereign imagines; nor of so little consequence as the Portuguese wish to make us believe. They requested permission to construct a fort in Malé the capital. Their request was readily granted; but no sooner did they find themselves protected by a wretched foss, and a rampart of fascines, than they began to act the masters, though in number only seventeen. They were, however, all put to death by the inhabitants, who never after would admit any more of them. They have lost also the protection of the pearl-fishery, which is near the Maldives; a protection of great utility taken from them by the Dutch, when they deprived them of a more important possession, the island of Ceylon. All the names given to this isle are epithets expressive of praise; *the sacred land; the fertile land; the darling of the earth*. It is one of the largest and richest islands in the world. It produces long-pepper, fine cotton, ivory, silk, tobacco, ebony, musk, crystal, saltpetre, lead, iron, steel, copper, precious stones, elephants; and, what is of more importance than all these, cinnamon.

From Ceylon it was natural for the Portu- Malacca.

guese to stretch along the coast of Coromandel, which was before their eyes ; but they established there only a few factories for their commerce : Negapatnam, which was taken from them by the Dutch, and St. Thomas, or Meliapour, which at present belongs to the Moors. Traversing the gulph, they proceeded thence to Pegu, where they lost their credit by the lascivious imprudence of one of their generals, who caused the most beautiful females to be brought to him for his private pleasures. Other political and mercantile faults reduced almost to nothing the trade which they carried on at Siam. Their disasters followed each other in rapid succession, and increased as soon as they had suffered themselves to be deprived of Malacca, built on the extremity of a peninsula, in the most advantageous situation for securing the isles of Sonda, which are now become the property of the Dutch.

Sonda Isles.

If we follow the Portuguese to the Sonda isles and the Moluccas, we shall find the same successes and the same reverses of fortune. At Sumatra, they could not obtain leave to construct a fortress, and were obliged to content themselves with liberty to trade. The pirates of Java, instead of being intimidated by the large Portuguese galleys, made descents on their coasts ; but their kings, petty princes among whom little harmony prevailed, were not able



to avoid the payment of a small tribute. At Borneo they entered into a treaty, and both parties found more advantage in an amicable arrangement, than they could have done in a war. The natives of this island have abandoned the coasts to the Moors, and retired to the interior part of the country, where they retain their ancient manners, and their religion. They do not worship idols; their offerings, which consist of perfumes, are presented to that god alone who rewards the good in heaven, and punishes the wicked in hell. They confine themselves to one wife: and conjugal infidelity in both sexes is punished with death. Their various tribes live in great amity with each other. The Macassars, or inhabitants of the isle of Celebes, are mahometans by accident. Having become tired of the absurd religion which they professed, they sent to the governor of Malacca, and the queen of Achem, to request from the one christian priests, and from the other mahometan doctors. The latter arrived first. It was in vain for the missionaries, who followed, to preach: the religion of Mahomet prevailed. The Macassars are accounted the bravest and most intrepid of all the Indians. They are celebrated also for their great knowledge in regard to poisons; they have some, the effects of which are so violent, that to smell them, or touch them, is instant death. In these poisons they dip the

points of small darts, which they discharge to a considerable distance, with great precision, from hollow tubes. They poison also some of their poinards, so that a slight scratch from them proves mortal.

Muloccas.  
New Guinea

The Portuguese formed settlements also at the Moluccas. The Spaniards under Charles V. pretended that these islands were not included in the part granted to the Portuguese by the demarcation of Martin V. The two nations were on the point of entering into hostilities respecting their distant possessions; but the emperor, embarrassed by his wars in Europe, resigned his right for a sum of money. The Portuguese behaved here with great cruelty. Their own historians acknowledge that they robbed the inhabitants without remorse; massacred them without mercy; swore to treaties which they had no intention of observing; deceived their kings, and destroyed them by poison or assassination. The valuable fruits of these islands, cloves and nutmegs, which ought to have ensured happiness to the inhabitants, were the cause of misfortune, by the avarice of those who wished for the exclusive possession of these spices.

The most important of these islands are in number five, which all lie in sight of each other. Ternate produces abundance of cloves. The inhabitants perceiving that these fatal riches exposed them to the persecution of the Portu-

guefe, burnt all the clove trees, and retired to the interior part of the ifland ; but the afhes, in the courfe of a few years, rendered the foil fo fertile, that it produced more than ever. This ifland is governed by a king, who can bring into the field a hundred thoufand men. That of Tidor is no lefs powerful. The other iflands, called Metil, Machian, and Labora, produce abundance of cloves alfo. They experienced fo much bad treatment from the Portuguefe during the time they had them in their poffeffion, which was about a century, that they were almoft converted into deferts. It would appear, that attempts to make the natives embrace chriftianity had a great fhare in the perfecutions which drove thefe people to defpair, becaufe when they admitted the Dutch among them, they made it an article in their treaties, that they fhould not be molefted on account of their religion. From the Moluccas the Portuguefe proceeded to New Guinea, which has been called alfo the country of the *Papoos*. There is found here a race of men, whole eyes are incapable of enduring the light of the fun, but who in the night-time are active and lively. The productions of this country being incapable of procuring great riches, it was foon abandoned by the Portuguefe.

They had, however, opened a very advantageous trade with China and Japan ; but they loft it, as they did the reft, by their imprudence.

China



Notwithstanding the natural aversion which the Chinese have to strangers, a fleet of eight ships, richly laden, which Albuquerque had dispatched, was well received at Canton; but while the chiefs of the expedition were gaining the friendship of the Chinese in the town by their honesty in trading, and their disinterestedness, the captains of the ships, which had remained at the mouth of the river, together with their officers, began to treat the Chinese as they had treated all the other nations of India. They landed cannon, took whatever pleased them at such a price as they thought proper, and committed other acts of violence. The viceroy being informed of these proceedings, equipped a fleet with all speed; surrounded the Portuguese squadron, and would certainly have taken it, had it not been saved by a storm. By means of long-continued supplication, and a piece of service which they rendered to the Chinese in freeing them from a troublesome pirate, they obtained permission to establish themselves at Macao. Though the place is small, and affords little accommodation, they received this present with gratitude, because it contains an excellent harbour. The town is fortified in the European manner. The Chinese, though the most suspicious people in the world, never conceived any umbrage on account of this fortification, because they have taken such precautions, that they are absolute

masters of the Portuguese, who have never more provisions than are sufficient for a few days, and who are so well watched, that they never can undertake any thing to the prejudice of the empire.

The Japanese freed themselves from these cares by expelling the Portuguese for ever. They had granted them great liberty in the kingdom. They went and came as they pleased; traversed the provinces, and bought and sold without experiencing any obstacles or restraint. They were even suffered to propagate their religion. In a little time it made great progress; it was embraced by some of the Japanese princes, and increased so much as to give umbrage. The imprudence of an ambassador of Philip II. after the union of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain, added strength to the suspicions of the government. This envoy pointing out one day on a map, with an affected air, the extent of his master's dominions in the East and West Indies, a Japanese asked him how his master had been able to acquire such vast possessions, at so great a distance from his hereditary states. The ambassador replied, "By first sending missionaries to convert the inhabitants to christianity, and then troops to assist the new converts to shake off the yoke of the infidel princes."

Japan.

The emperor thought that he saw this system of invasion realised in the resistance which the

christians made to the orders issued against their religion. They assembled in a body, fought, and were beat; and a resolution was then formed to expel for ever the Portuguese who had introduced a religion so refractory. Two ships which had arrived from Macao in the harbour of Nangazacki to trade as usual, received this ruinous and humiliating decree. The commander was assured that these two ships would be the last suffered to enter the ports of Japan, and that all those which should dare to appear there in future would be treated as enemies. Never was a sentence put in execution with more rigour. Four Portuguese gentlemen, sensible of the great advantage which the re-establishment of this commerce would be to their nation, ventured to land at Japan, under the title of ambassadors; but they, and the greater part of their retinue, amounting to sixty-one persons, were beheaded. The Japanese saved only thirteen of them to navigate a wretched vessel, in order that they might carry back to Macao an account of what had passed, and the threat of a like fate to all those who should dare to appear on their coasts. Some Portuguese even who had conveyed to Japan a few of the natives, whom they had saved after being shipwrecked, and had treated with humanity, received no other answer than thanks, and an order never to return. The Dutch, by their intrigues and accusations, had a great in-



fluence in regard to these severe resolutions, which consigned into their hands this lucrative branch of the Portuguese trade, to the exclusion of all other nations.

Such then is the skeleton of the Portuguese trade in India, weakened and consumed like a man exhausted by years. Goa, the superb Goa, unrivalled in regard to the advantages and beauty of its situation, exhibits evident marks of its decline. The public edifices still retain a majestic appearance; the houses are handsome, and the best built in India; but they are by far too numerous for the inhabitants. The latter amount to nearly twenty thousand. The Portuguese form the smallest part of them; the Mestizos are the next in number, and after them the Canarians, or natives of the country, who are black like the Ethiopians, but have long hair, and regular features. The remainder of the people is composed of a multitude of negro slaves, and other idolaters of different nations. A great part of the town is occupied by the convents. The jesuits had here five houses, and these were not too many for the trade which, it is said, they carried on. The commerce here is however no longer carried on by the Portuguese. Being all military officers, judges, receivers of the public revenues, or dignified clergy, they think it unworthy of their grandeur to have any concern in mercantile affairs. The whole profit aris-

Goa.

ing from commerce, the duties or other emoluments destined for the royal treasury, are swallowed up by their salaries, and very little is transmitted to Lisbon. The inhabitants of Goa are said to be almost all haughty, insolent, jealous, revengeful, and wretched; the women, proud and lascivious, and the most expert poisoners in the world: the clergy live in luxury, and are exceedingly rich. The inquisition here, though of horrid celebrity, is not so formidable as some have pretended. It retains no power but over those who profess christianity.

Notwithstanding its exhausted state, it would not be impossible, with application and industry, to inspire new life into this enervated body. The greater part of the Portuguese settlements still remain in their hands, which is a great advantage to a commercial people. Their character is not so much blasted as not to be still accompanied with some esteem. They have sources of correspondence already formed; they are not destitute of capitals; and it is only requisite that they should turn them to advantage themselves, and not abandon them to the management of mercenaries who deceive them. It would be necessary also to introduce some reformation in morals, particularly in regard to mixed marriages, which from the second generation corrupt the Portuguese blood, and substitute arrogant indolence in the room of haughtiness, the

most prominent feature in the character of that nation.

The demarcation of Martin V. solicited by the Portuguese, as already said, was considered as an irrefragable title which secured to them the exclusive property of the Indies, because they imagined that it was impossible to go thither except by the route they had pursued; and that these rich countries would of course be always within the line by which their property was bounded. Ferdinand Magalhins, however, known under the name of Magellan, having been present at the discovery of the Moluccas by the Portuguese, conceived that a passage might be found thither, different from that by the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian seas; and that these rich isles, being then discovered beyond the Portuguese line of demarcation, might become the property of those who landed on them by this new route. He had scarcely begun to entertain these ideas, when he returned to Portugal, and being refused a small augmentation to his pay which he demanded, he entered into the service of Spain.

When Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Castile and Leon, had added to their united states America, discovered by Christopher Columbus, they procured from Alexander VI. after the example of Don Henry, a demarcation of their new domains. Magellan, disgusted by

Commerce  
of the Spaniards.



the council of Portugal, presented himself to the council of Spain, under Charles V. and proposed to him the acquisition of the spice islands; assuring him at the same time, that it would be no infringement of the right given to the Portuguese by the bull of Martin V. as that of Alexander VI. assigned these isles to the Spaniards, by opening a route which would conduct them through the Great Southern Ocean, without touching at the Cape of Good Hope, or crossing the Indian seas. The question was, to discover this route. Magellan pointed it out at a part of the globe where different countries were supposed to lie contiguous to each other. His observations had induced him to suppose that a passage might be found between them; and the council of Spain furnished him with vessels to make the attempt. Magellan, as he had promised, proceeded by this new route to some islands in the neighbourhood of the Moluccas, and the strait through which he passed still retains his name. He had no other reward for his success; having exposed himself imprudently on one of these islands, he was killed by the savages.

The Portuguese were alarmed at this discovery, which seemed to threaten the ruin of the chief foundation of their opulence. They referred to the bull of Martin V. The Spaniards opposed to it that of Alexander VI. The two

nations were on the point of coming to a rupture ; but the Portuguese, in order to prevent it, made proposals of money to Charles V. This prince, who was always needy, suffered them, in opposition to the council of Spain, to keep possession of these islands, but without renouncing his right. The Spaniards asserted it under Philip II. his son. They sent a squadron by the strait of Magellan to take possession of the isles at which he had landed ; and from the name of their king called them the Philippines. The hostilities, on account of this possession, between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, ceased in those seas when the two monarchies formed only one by their union after the death of Don Sebastian king of Portugal. When these kingdoms were again separated, on the accession of the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal, the Philippines were annexed, and are still so, to Spain. It is to be remarked then that the issuing of two bulls, considered perhaps by those who gave and those who received them as a piece of vain formality, was the cause of an enterprize highly useful to the progress of navigation.

The Chinese historians say that their countrymen were masters of these islands ; the Japanese make a pretence of the like kind : but the former, more avaricious, have often endeavoured to disturb the Spaniards in their possession ; so that, before they were firmly established,

The Philip-  
pines.

they had to defend themselves against surprize from the Chinese, the jealousy of the Portuguese, the efforts of the Moors and Arabs leagued together to expel these new guests, the ferocity of the savage natives, and, above all, the malevolence of the Dutch. Matters proceeded so far, that it was seriously deliberated in Spain whether the Philippines should not be abandoned; and they are still retained, not so much for the sake of profiting by them, as to prevent the profit of others; but the pretence held out by the pious Spaniards was, that the savages whom they had begun to convert might not be suffered to relapse into their former errors.

The chief island of the Philippines is called Luconia, and its capital Manilla. It may be about four hundred leagues in circumference; and is admirably situated, at the distance of sixty leagues from China, and a hundred and sixty from Japan. It commands, by its position, an archipelago, said to consist of eleven hundred islands, great and small. It has opposite to it Malacca, Siam, Camboja, and Cochinchina; and is furnished with a large and excellent harbour. The climate, in general, is warm and moist. The rains, winds, storms, thunder, and inundations, all take place at certain regular periods. The days and the nights are always equal. On account of the fertility of the soil the growth of



all sorts of productions is speedy and prodigious. The trees are covered at the same time with blossoms and with fruits. Rice grows everywhere, and almost without cultivation. The meadows are in a state of vegetation in every season. Among the animals found here is the civet-cat, the musk of which is much esteemed. A great deal of amber is cast on shore by the sea; and wax costs only the trouble of collecting it in the forests. There is no country more abundant or in which people might live so agreeably were they not often alarmed by earthquakes. The dust on which the inhabitants tread is gold, and some of it is picked up in the rivers; but the Indians will not dig the earth to search for it, because the Spaniards take it from them. As these imperious masters, however, require some by way of tribute, their subjects collect about fifteen hundred pounds of it annually.

It is inhabited by people of various kinds; Moors, called *Tagales*, from Borneo; Malays from Malacca; painted Indians, called *Pintados*, who are believed to be the aborigines of the country; and blacks, named *Negrillos*, enthusiasts for liberty, and mischievous to each other. Those at the top of a mountain are enemies to those who inhabit the middle; and those on the middle persecute those at the bottom. They all, however, unite against the Spaniards, who give

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them no quarter; but they live in harmony with another nation, called *Tinghians*, supposed to be descended from the Japanese, a mild, sociable people, who never do any hurt except when attempts are made against their liberty. In the last place, the Chinese are here very numerous, chiefly around Manilla, though they are forbidden to remain in the island beyond stated periods. They are nevertheless tolerated, but treated with severity.

The island of Luconia, or Manilla, as it is most commonly called, presents a cultivated and polished country, beautiful women, agreeable gardens, and well-built houses, though constructed of wood, on account of the earthquakes. Manilla is the residence of an archbishop, who has three suffragan bishops in the other islands. The captain-general is dignified with the title of viceroy. He has under his command nearly four thousand men. He presides also in the civil tribunal. The tribute paid by the Indians is a capitation tax; but it is paid in productions, and such as are most common in the island.

There are very few particulars in regard to the islands dependent on Luconia, which do not form a part of the general description. The largest, next to Luconia, is Mindanao, which produces sugar-canes and cinnamon. It must, however, be observed, that all this archipelago does not belong to the Spaniards. The isle of

Xolo is subject to a king of its own. This is the only one of the Philippines in which there are elephants. It is the centre of the commerce carried on by the Moors, and the Mecca of this archipelago; but these mahometans are not rigid. They are acquainted with only three articles of their religion: to eat no pork; to be circumcised; and to maintain a plurality of wives. They all agree in placing great faith in augury and predictions. They are remarkably temperate. Though surrounded by spices, they never make use of them. Their dress is simple, and each is his own taylor. The women even are not very ambitious of ornaments. Their customs approach near to those of Barbary and Africa. If a father expends any money for his son, or redeems him from slavery, he considers him as his own slave; the son does the same in regard to the father: they are much addicted to piracy.

The commerce of the Philippines from one island to another is considerable; but it is more important with the Chinese, who carry thither, in great abundance, their own merchandize, and that of Japan. That with America is carried on by a first-rate vessel deeply laden, which departs every year from Manilla for Acapulco, deposits there the productions of Asia, and carries back few of the American productions, which would make very little figure when op-



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posed to the produce of Asiatic industry, were they not combined with a great deal of European merchandize, and particularly toys, which in these isles are highly necessary. The route of this valuable ship, the time of departure, the places where it must touch, the signals to be employed, and its internal police, are all regulated with the greatest care. No precaution is neglected in regard to its equipment and defence. They have not, however, prevented it from being several times taken by the English. It employs six months in going, and as many in returning. It is built at the Philippines, which supplies the most beautiful timber in the world. There are few instances of this vessel ever being lost; and if such an event takes place, it is on approaching the coast; which is very astonishing in so long a passage, where there could be no resource; for every part of the tract is at an immense distance from land, if we except a few small islands, rarely seen, that are, as it were, imperceptible, points in this vast ocean. As abundant a stock of fresh water as possible is put on board; but it would not always be sufficient were it not renewed by the rains which the vessel meets with in a certain latitude. Mats are then suspended to receive the water, and, by means of bamboos fitted to them below, it is conveyed into jars. This relief, however, uncertain it may appear, never fails.

The Spanish families settled in the Philippines rarely leave them; as they could carry with them to Spain but very moderate fortunes. They live well in the Philippines, but do not become rich. Besides, it is difficult to find the opportunity of a direct passage, and it is always extremely dear. Being thus once accustomed to the climate, they remain the more readily, as the government is remarkably mild. The viceroy indeed possesses absolute power, and might become a tyrant; but the council of Spain has provided against this evil, by changing the commandant, as the Portuguese do, at least every five years. There is also another precaution at the Philippines. A viceroy, on the expiration of his time, cannot embark for Europe until his conduct has been strictly examined. Sixty days are allowed to the inhabitants, after his departure has been proclaimed, to bring forward their complaints, and thirty to prosecute. The successor, in virtue of an express commission, is generally the judge. This inquest was formerly very severe, and the punishment difficult to be eluded. There are instances of viceroys committing suicide to avoid being disgraced and punished: others have died in prison. At present, a bribe of a hundred thousand crowns given to a successor are capable of clearing a predecessor. The people sometimes have not been satisfied with this justification.

Several viceroys spared by the judge have not escaped the vengeance of the multitude ; and thus, as certain authors say, a great evil carries with it its remedy.

Marianne  
Islands.

The Marianne or Ladrone islands form the natural boundary which Providence has interposed between Asia and America. They were first discovered by Magellan, who found them peopled by men who supplied by industry the want of every thing denied to them by nature. Though destitute of iron, they had arms, which they employed with strength and dexterity : they consisted of long javelins of very hard wood headed with human bones, rendered exceedingly sharp, which inflicted poisonous and mortal wounds. They could throw stones with such force and precision, as to make them enter the trunk of a tree. They are, perhaps, the only people of the earth who were unacquainted with fire. They swim with so much agility, that water seems to be their proper element. Their small vessels, called prows, which they navigate skilfully from one island to another, both with oars and sails, are worthy of admiration. The islands, about fourteen or sixteen in number, lie at a considerable distance from each other. These barks are made of the trunks of trees, hollowed out with shells and flints, which have been sharpened. The sail is a mat ; and the filaments of leaves or roots, rendered pliant and



flexible, supply the place of cordage. Necessity and wants have made these islanders so far sensible of the utility of iron, that they would expose themselves to any risk to obtain it. Being admitted by Magellan on board his ship, spite of every precaution which could be employed, they pulled out the nails, seized the hatchets and swords, and leaped into the sea with their booty. For this reason these islands got the name of the *Ladrones*\*; they were called also the *Marianne* islands, after a queen of Spain. The latter name they retain still.

The largest, called *Guahan*, or *St. John*, is about a hundred leagues in circumference. Its aspect is delightful; it exhibits continual verdure and groves, interspersed with lawns covered with animals of every kind, such as oxen and hogs, which are a great resource to the navigators of the *Acapulco* ship, who never fail to touch at these islands. Among the trees found here is that which produces the bread fruit: this fruit is shaped like a pear, and its pulp is as nourishing as bread. The climate is warm, as must be the case in the torrid zone; but the heat is moderated by the sea breezes. These islands are not all peopled. As they lie at such a great distance from the continent it is not known whence the first inhabitants emigrated.

\* *Ladron* in Spanish signifies a thief. T.

They consist of three distinct classes : the nobles, called *chamorris* ; the middle class ; and the populace. The *chamorris*, intoxicated with their high birth, look down with great contempt on the other classes, who dare not speak to them but at a distance ; and cannot under pain of punishment form any alliances with them by marriage. In no place do the women possess so much authority : they are absolute mistresses. If one of them complains of her husband, all the rest assemble ; assume the arms of the men ; go and ravage the lands of the intractable spouse ; plunder his furniture, and destroy his habitation. He is happy if he can himself escape from their hands. Thus, in a moment, a poor husband is deprived of both wife and children ; for the latter follow their mother, and without property. On account of this custom, there are many young men who avoid marriage. They associate with a certain number of young females, and live in common. Nothing has tended so much as this practice to thwart the labours of the missionaries, and to retard the progress they might have made among the natives.

These islanders are not unacquainted with the moral principles of social life. Quarrels, and still more wars, are uncommon among them. The latter consist chiefly in sudden incursions. They endure hunger several days to lie in wait for their enemy, that they may rush upon him by

surprize, and carry him off. They present offerings to the sea by placing them in a canoe, which they abandon to the mercy of the waves. A certain kind of sages among them, called *anitis*, practise medicine ; and by the help of that science support a few religious ideas, such as the dread of hell or the hope of paradise, according as their actions are good or bad, and a great fear of the devil, whose anger they endeavour to deprecate by gifts. The first man they say was formed of the earth of their island, which was converted into a stone. This stone happened to break ; and the human race was produced from its fragments, which were dispersed over the whole earth. Persons long absent from their native country have lost the use of their original language ; and no longer enjoy the happiness of understanding these fortunate islanders, from whom they are descended.

The Marianne islands are not much valued by the Spaniards : and indeed, with the most beautiful climate, and the most fertile soil, they produce neither precious stones nor metals. But this country, considered as wretched, because it is destitute of these imaginary treasures, produces fruits and salutary herbs in abundance. They ought, therefore, to have made more efforts to civilize the natives, and to render them useful. The missionaries, it must be allowed,



took some pains, and do so still; but these people entertain an inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, who at first, no doubt, abused their superiority. They reproach these foreigners with being the cause of the gnats by which they are tormented. And they assert, that before their arrival, they had neither the colic, rheumatism, nor other diseases, which, even at present, are not transmitted. They accuse them also of a criminal and perfidious stratagem, in having embarrassed them with clothes. With such prejudices it is not astonishing that these people should have offered themselves to the English and the Dutch; but these nations, to whom they could have been of no utility, suffered and still suffer them to belong to Spain, which keeps them under its dominion for the benefit of its navigation.

The Carolines.

At the time when the Spaniards united their crown to that of Portugal, the Moluccas absorbed all their attention, and prevented them from making other discoveries. By an accident, however, they became acquainted with another Archipelago, which they at first called the lesser Philippines, and afterwards the Carolines in honour of Charles II. Some of the inhabitants of these isles, after being tossed about by a storm, were driven to the Mariannes, where they landed. The account which these islanders gave of their country and manners induced the missionaries

to pay them a visit. They found these islands equally fertile and agreeable, and as well peopled as the Mariannes; for they contained above eighty thousand inhabitants, in a high state of civilization. They have no distinct notion of a Supreme Being; but believe in good and bad spirits, male and female. Their beneficent spirits are called *tahutup*: they present offerings to them; but none to the malignant.

In each island there are noble families, the chiefs of which are called *tamoles*. The government is aristocratic. All the iron found belongs to the *tamol*, who causes it to be converted into utensils, which he lets for hire to those who choose to labour. This forms his whole revenue. The *tamoles* of all the isles assemble once a year to deliberate on public affairs. Their dignity imposes on them the obligation of living a serious life, and observing an irreproachable conduct. In each village there is a school for the boys, and another for the girls; they are under the direction of elderly persons of both sexes. The boys are taught agriculture. They excel in the art of cultivating flowers; of making family utensils, nets and arms; in the construction of barks, and in fishing: they are afterwards made acquainted with the principles of astronomy by means of a globe, as we are told by the missionaries; but this, no doubt,

has been only since they were admitted among them. The girls are instructed in the method of dressing fish, fruits, and pulse, and of preparing thread from a certain plant, of which they make cloth. In most of these isles the Spaniards have settlements, but they are few in number. For what reason should they be desirous of going thither? The land, like that of the Mariannes, is a cursed soil, which produces only the necessaries and comforts of life; but neither gold, silver, nor jewels. Accident also conducted the Spaniards to New Guinea, or the country of the *Papoos*, who are black, and have woolly hair like the negroes. There is found here, however, a race of white men called *Albinos*, who are almost blind in the day-time, but very quick-sighted during the night.

Commerce  
of the Eng-  
lish.

Some historians pretend that the Indies were not unknown to the Britons at a very early period; but it appears that their ideas of them, if they really had any, were exceedingly vague. They began to make very little impression till the reign of queen Elizabeth. A Venetian galley, deeply laden, was driven on shore at the isle of Wight. The sight of the riches it contained excited a desire of attempting to open a trade with Turkey, through which the merchandize of India was transported. The advantages arising from this Turkish trade to the eastern merchants, shewed that it might be rendered



still more lucrative if it were carried on by a direct route. In order that no measures of prudence which seemed likely to ensure success to this grand enterprise might be omitted, the queen sent to explore the two routes already opened; that of the Cape of Good Hope by captain Stephens, in 1582, and that of the strait of Magellan, in 1587. From the reports which they made it was conceived impossible for England to appropriate to itself, by means of single ships, a part of that commerce, to the prejudice of two nations, jealous and well established; and that, while it employed all the exertions of industry, it would be necessary also to shew a respectable force. These considerations, highly judicious, gave rise to the East-India company, which sent out its first adventure with a capital of 74,000*l.* and four ships equipped from that sum. In 1601 the company was established under the auspices of the state, which granted it a charter of protection for a time limited.

Lancaster, who commanded this squadron, behaved like a private merchant; entered into a treaty of commerce with the king of Achen; and found means to establish a small factory, but not without experiencing some marks of displeasure from the Portuguese. He took on board a considerable quantity of pepper and other spices. His successful return encouraged the company to send out three ships under the command of

Henry Middleton. The latter, however, began to assume a higher tone than that of a plain merchant. He found the Dutch and Portuguese engaged in war; not on their own account, as appeared, but as auxiliaries, the one of the king of Ternate, and the other of the king of Tidor. It seemed most advantageous to Middleton, at that period, to espouse the part of the Portuguese. The Dutch were incensed, and threw impediments in his way, which, however, did not prevent him from returning with a very rich cargo; but the company sent out another squadron under Edward Michael Bourne, who assumed with the Dutch that air of superiority which his force authorized, and threatened open hostilities in case they interrupted the English commerce. To support these threats, William Keeling arrived, in 1608, with a body of regular troops. The Dutch made no resistance, and even applied to the English to defend them against the inhabitants of Banda; but after this service they behaved with duplicity to their benefactors, and fettered their commerce: but Keeling found means to return with a very rich cargo, and what is remarkable, without the loss of a single man.

The great misfortune of the English company was, that it had no port. Its supply of provisions depended on the caprice of the Indian nations, with whom they were obliged to treat

for the price of their merchandize, at the risk of being imposed on, as they had no place of safety to which they could retire in order to wait for the most favourable opportunities. It depended also on the consent of two European nations, who, it is well known, beheld the success of the English with an eye of malevolence. The company, for want of a port, endeavoured at least to establish factories. It began then, if I may use the expression, to raise itself by its own wings. Hitherto it had purchased its ships from the Hanse-towns; but it now built for itself. Its first attempt in naval architecture was the Trade's Success, of twelve hundred tons, the largest and finest vessel which had ever been constructed in England. It sailed in 1610, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton. Under him at Mocha and Surat; under Hippon, at Bantam; under Saris, who obtained liberty to trade to Japan; and under Thomas Best, who with four ships defeated the whole of the Portuguese forces; the glory of the English arms was diffused over all Asia, and facilitated the establishment of factories for its Indian commerce. In 1616 the company had more than twenty-two of these small settlements, and its trade extended from the Red Sea even as far as Japan. It was in high esteem, above all, by the bravery of its captains, at the court of the great mogul. It sent thither ambassadors, who were well re-



ceived ; and, under this protection, it established its principal factory at Surat, a town dependent on the mogul empire.

For want of ports it continued its trade in a very precarious, though advantageous manner, obliged to yield to circumstances instead of commanding them. It perceived clearly by the indirect proceedings of the Dutch, that they were dangerous enemies ; yet it assisted them against the Portuguese, whom it considered to be still more formidable : but the remissness of the English government under Charles I. made the Dutch resolve to get entirely rid of these competitors in the spice islands, which they wished to appropriate exclusively to themselves. They accused the English factors at Amboyna of a plot to obtain possession of the Dutch fort. Had this plan even been real, it did not authorize them to subject to the most horrid tortures these unhappy wretches, in order to extort from them a confession which they never would make. They were, however, put to death in 1623 ; and the English were irrevocably expelled from these islands. The company, participating in the fate of the kingdom, agitated by troubles, saw its commerce, if not ruined, at least falling into decline, and was not able to obtain redress ; but Cromwell caused justice to be done, if the imposition of fines in behalf of the families of the unfortunate persons who had been massacred,

can be considered as a sufficient punishment for so horrid a crime.

But the prosperity of the company depended on the possession of a port, and a fortunate incident procured them the finest and safest on the coast of Malabar. Charles II. when he ascended the throne, granted to the company, which Cromwell had assisted, every advantage it could desire. By a patent, in 1661, he confirmed its exclusive privilege, and authorized it to permit private merchants to trade from one port of the Indies to another. He gave it power, civil and military, in its settlements, and the right of peace and war in regard to the infidel nations of India; but with this proviso, that if its charter were found prejudicial to the nation it should be annulled, giving three years' previous notice. Charles II. at length procured it an advantage no less considerable by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. By the repeated solicitation of the company, he caused the island of Bombay, a barren and unwholesome spot, but of great importance on account of its situation and excellent harbour, to be given to him as a dowry. The English were no sooner in possession of it than they built a fortress; and they insensibly extended themselves in force along the whole coast.

While the affairs of the company were thus prosperous abroad, it experienced some agitation at home. The merchants of London, and

other commercial cities, displeased with the privilege which excluded them from the India trade, or admitted them to take only a subordinate part, formed an association, and offered to government terms more advantageous than those of the existing company, in order that they might be substituted in its stead. The debates on this subject continued for several years, and the result was the incorporation of the competitors with the old company, and the establishment of a new one, which began to act in the year 1704. It took every care to give to its operations the necessary vigour and secrecy. To ensure the latter, severe punishment was denounced against those who should lay open the affairs of the company; and it was forbidden, under like penalties, to shew any favour to foreigners in regard to the commerce of the Indies. This trade, therefore, was carried on with the greatest success, if we except a few trifling checks occasioned by quarrels with the Indian nations, who did not always bear the yoke with that patience which the English wished.

After a pretty long continuance of good understanding with the French East-India company, which, since 1720, had been in a flourishing condition, the English, unsuccessful in Europe, resolved to disturb the French in India. The French company, the centre of whose trade



was, at that time, Pondicherry, foreseeing this plan, proposed a neutrality in the Indies; but the English refused to agree to it, and in 1745 sent out a squadron to intercept the homeward-bound ships. They took three of them richly laden. The French had not been so sanguine in their hopes of a neutrality, as to neglect providing a force sufficient to make them be respected in case of a rupture. They were commanded by the brave Labourdonnais; and, at the same time, the government of Pondicherry was in the hands of Dupleix, a profound politician. Had these two men acted with unanimity, the English would have been ruined on the coast of Coromandel, where they had a considerable settlement at Madras. Labourdonnais invested that city, and granted to the besieged honourable terms, which Dupleix, as governor-general, refused to ratify. He took a pleasure, if not in destroying, at least in lessening the value of the conquest of Labourdonnais, by carrying away whatever was beautiful in the city. The English procured a reinforcement, and in their turn laid siege to Pondicherry; but it withstood their attack, as well as Madras, which remained in the hands of the French till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The two companies having engaged to support the nabobs who were attached to them, continued in a state of warfare under the title of auxiliaries. They afterwards attacked each

other openly, and on their own account. The success of the English has been so great, that there is no European nation at present which carries on in India so extensive a trade. They no longer appear as merchants, supported merely by their industry; but as warriors, conquerors, and sovereigns, whose armies proudly traverse the whole peninsula, and whose flag is borne triumphantly over every part of the ocean.

They are, however, modest at Mocha, where they have only a small factory. This city is situated at the bottom of the Red Sea, on a large sandy plain, destitute of water. It is pretty well fortified, and is the centre of the whole commerce of Arabia. The English are held in high estimation at this place, because they bring hither large capitals; and, besides coffee, carry away myrrh, aloes, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenic, gum-arabic, balm of gilead, and other drugs. But, notwithstanding the credit which they enjoy, they are exposed to the imposition of the Arabs, the worst mahometans in the world, because they are the greatest hypocrites. They call God to witness in the most solemn manner, and at the same time break their word. The judge will gravely declaim against corruption at the very moment when he stretches out his hand to receive a bribe.

Gambroon, or Bender Abassi, at the entrance of the Persian Gulph, may be compared to

Mocha, on account of its want of water, excessive heat, and other inconveniences; but it is superior in regard to the salubrity of the air. The thirst of gain retains here a great many Persians and Banians, who carry on the principal part of the trade, and a small English factory, the merchants of which derive their chief gain from the freight of merchandize; because the merchants of the country being bad navigators, are glad to employ the English vessels. The company shares the profits of the custom-house with the king of Persia. Bender Abassi has assumed the place of Ormus; but in a very inferior manner.

The English, after being admitted and tolerated, have become sovereigns of Surat, though a governor still resides there in the name of the mogul: they however possess the citadel. This city is extremely populous. A great diversity of religion prevails among the inhabitants; but the greater part are mahometans of the sect of Ali. Those who profess mahometanism are called Moors. People, called *Musey*, believe in the Old Testament as well as the Koran, and entertain equal respect for the law of Moses, and that of Mahomet. The molaks are reproached with the same irregularity as that ascribed to the ancient gnostics. The women, mothers and daughters, married or unmarried, each provide themselves with a handkerchief, which they



give to the man whom they meet under cover of the night, that they may know him again in the day-time. The great mogul, Aureng Zeb, proscribed this religious rite under pain of capital punishment; but it is still practised notwithstanding his prohibition. There are found at Surat, Hindoos followers of Fo and Parsis, worshippers of fire; a great many Arabs, Jews, and Armenians, who, with the Banians, carry on the principal trade. Surat is a general magazine for the most valuable productions of the coasts of Africa, Malabar, Persia, and Hindostan. The artificers are exceedingly ingenious. The English here live in great splendor, which they say is necessary for an European governor in the East, in order to maintain his credit and reputation.

Some of the other English settlements present singularities both natural and artificial. It is said that the spiders at Bombay are as large as walnuts, and the toads of the size of a small duck. Baroche, situated on a mountain, is well fortified. Corwar and Tellichery produce cardamoms and pepper. The muslins of these places are in high estimation. Fort St. David, which was sold to the company by a Mahratta prince, has given shelter to a great number of weavers, who manufacture brown, white, blue, and other coloured cotton-stuffs, known under the names of salempouris, moorees, gingham,

succatoris, &c. which form the basis of the trade of St. George, or Madras. Few cities are so unfavourably situated as the latter; for it stands on a dry plain, destitute of fresh water; and is in continual danger of being over-whelmed by a stormy sea, or by a brackish river, which is sometimes so swelled up that it flows close under the walls. The black-town is inhabited by the pagans, mahometans, and native christians. The white-town is destined for the English alone. Both these towns, which on account of their proximity form only one, are extremely populous. The inhabitants are estimated at eighty thousand. Every pleasure and luxury that opulence can procure is found in this settlement. It is the seat of the power of the English East-India company, and the residence of the governor and council. The governor has the attendance, the authority, and the honours of a monarch. There is no port but an open road, dangerous and insecure. The establishments of the company in Bengal, which were at first only factories, have become sovereignties. The natives here pay tribute to the company. The revenues thence arising defray a great part of its mercantile expenses; and its profit is by these means immense, except in the time of war.

The island of St. Helena, which lies almost St. Helena. opposite to the Cape of Good Hope, at the

distance of about six hundred leagues, is the place at which the English ships generally touch on their passage home from India. It is almost half way between America and Africa, and has been classed with that part of the world, because it is nearer to it than to the other. If we can believe seamen, who have touched here, it is a most delightful abode; but, indeed, to them it must appear so after a passage which, though easy, on account of the constancy of the winds blowing towards that quarter, is however attended with some disagreeable circumstances. The island is only seven leagues in circumference. This small spot contains cultivated land, meadows, and woods, together with a spring which forms a rivulet; in a word, nature here appears always smiling, and always with the freshness of youth. The inhabitants have a peculiar complexion, which is fair, and remarkably ruddy. They enjoy good health, and attain to a great age, owing to the effects of a climate the heat of which is moderated by the east winds, and to their temperance and sobriety; for they never indulge in any irregularity except for a few days during the stay of the East-India ships. It appears that on these occasions they transgress their usual boundaries, in order to entertain their guests. The females also throw aside a little of their severity, to oblige their countrymen, who come to visit them from such a distance. “ But the ladies of



“ St. Helena,” say some authors, “ do not resemble our ladies of gallantry in Europe. They are not interested like our fashionable females. They seem to participate in the pleasure they communicate, without any view of interest ; which, in some measure, makes up for the loss sustained by the honour of the sex.”

When the sovereignty of Portugal was transferred to the crown of Spain, under Philip II. the Flemish subjects of that prince were favoured, on account of the sale which they procured in the north for the merchandize of India : and it was this circumstance which brought such prodigious wealth to the people of Bruges and Ghent ; made Antwerp the greatest trading city in Europe ; enabled its citizens to live in palaces, and filled its port with such an immense number of ships, that we are assured that four hundred have been seen there at anchor at once. These riches made the inhabitants difficult to be governed ; and the Spanish council imagined that, to render them pliable, it would be necessary to impoverish them. Besides subjecting them to restraint in regard to religion, it fettered their commerce. The richest merchants, and the most industrious manufacturers, oppressed in their property and deprived of liberty of conscience, retired to the Seven United Provinces, which had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and

Commerce  
of the  
Dutch.

were received there with open arms. As they had been accustomed, by their former connection with Portugal, to deal in Indian merchandize, they wished to continue the same traffick; but the wretched policy of Spain, having shut the ports of that country against them, they resolved to go directly to the source of these riches, as the channels through which they had received them were now entirely closed.

As all these merchants were acquainted with each other, the associations for this trade were soon formed. They were established in different cities of Holland and Zealand, under the name of chambers of commerce, the most important of which was at Amsterdam. They all set out on the same principle, that as they intended to share in, or rather appropriate to themselves the profits of their former masters, they ought not to depend merely on mercantile talents; but that it would be necessary to arm, as they might meet with resistance. Their first ships, therefore, set out in 1594, as if for a military expedition. These were soon followed by other vessels, which went all in fleets, some by the Cape of Good Hope, and others by the Strait of Magellan, so that the Spanish and Portuguese settlements were attacked, at the same time, on all sides. In the course of six years the Dutch found themselves in great favour in India with the kings of the country; and by means of forts

which they constructed, almost in every place where they obtained a footing, they were as firmly established in the most valuable parts as their ancient masters.

But this zeal and ardour, which had induced them to build and send out in rapid succession so many vessels, and which had been so useful to the sudden propagation of commerce, were rendered useless, because individuals and the chambers, not being intimately connected, could not agree either in respect to the quality or the quantity of the goods to be exported, nor on the price which in India they should set upon the spices, and other articles imported. It often happened that several vessels carried out the same merchandize; and on such occasions it was necessary to lower the price in India, in order that it might find a ready sale. On the other hand, the ships, anxious to take in their cargoes that they might avoid the competition of those which followed them, preferred paying a little dearer to get done the sooner; and thus the trade, without being disadvantageous, did not procure those benefits which might have been expected. To remedy this inconvenience, all the chambers were formed into one company, which alone had the right of trading to the Indies. It began its adventures in 1602, and followed the method employed by the first merchants of sending out speedily fleet after



fleet, to astonish, as we may say, the Spaniards and Portuguese, their rivals, by the sudden appearance of forces reviving without end. It is supposed that the Dutch East-India company, at the very moment of its birth, had concerted a plan for expelling all the Europeans from the spice islands, and of appropriating their trade exclusively to itself. In this it indeed succeeded, without shewing, as we have seen by what happened at Amboyna, much delicacy in regard to the means.

The company, before the expiration of the privilege granted by the States for twenty-one years, found itself mistress of an empire the extent of which it had not been able to foresee. It fixed its throne, if I may be allowed the expression, in the island of Java, where general Coen built Batavia, which has become the most superb city of the Indies. The Dutch, notwithstanding their simplicity in Europe, endeavoured to give this new capital an air of magnificence and grandeur, that should render it a successful rival to Goa, which they wished to efface, in order that they might secure the respect of the Indians, who were readily caught by appearances. The court of the commandant-general is, therefore, like that of a real monarch. Few kings, indeed, have so extensive authority. Orders are dispatched from Batavia to every part of the Indies, where there are subaltern

governors who command provinces ; and as far as Japan, where the Dutch have had the address to preserve the liberty of trade, while it is interdicted to all the rest of the world. They acquired this privilege by persuading the Japanese, not only that their religion is different from that of the Portuguese, but even that they are not christians. They give a proof of it by submitting, in the small island where they are immured for the purpose of carrying on their trade with Japan, to obey the order issued every year to the Japanese to tread upon a crucifix in the presence of the magistrates.

The thirst of gain, inherent in commerce, and particularly maritime commerce, effaces sometimes not only the principles of religion, but those also of humanity and the rights of nations. The massacre of Amboyna, which excluded for ever from the spice trade the English, the only rivals whom the Dutch had to dread, has been mentioned already. The same system of sacrificing every thing to interest rendered them implacable enemies to their competitors, cruel to their prisoners, unfaithful to their allies, and pitiless towards shipwrecked mariners, who in their settlements might have acquired information which they considered as dangerous. The taking possession of the island of Ceylon, where the cinnamon grows, the only territory wanting to the Dutch to make them masters of the finest

spices, was accompanied with some of those arts of political cunning which commerce on a grand scale thinks sometimes not incompatible with honesty.

This island, situated at the extremity of the peninsula of India, is inhabited by a people called Chingulays, whose origin is unknown. They are tall, black, and well made; possess great bravery, and are fond of agriculture. The women are not destitute of charms. The most common religion is the mussulman; and their king, who, in imitation of those of India, assumes the title of Raja, professes to be a follower of Mahomet. His capital, named Candy, is situated in the middle of the island, towards which the land forms a gradual ascent. The Portuguese had possession of the coasts, but this gave no uneasiness to the king, as it was of little importance to him with whom his subjects carried on trade, and to whom they sold their cinnamon. He lived on friendly terms with them till an imperious governor occasioned some disagreement. He then carried his complaints to Goa; but no attention being paid to them, he took up arms to bring the insolent Portuguese to reason. Having, however, learned that their countrymen were preparing to assist them, he called in the Dutch; engaged to pay them the expences of the war, to cede to them a piece of ground for building a factory, and to give them an exclusive right to



trade with his subjects. The Dutch entered into an obligation to furnish a certain number of troops, and to resign to the king all the Portuguese forts, as soon as they were taken, in order that they might be demolished.

The war was successful on the part of the allies, who expelled the Portuguese ; but when the Dutch were desired to restore to the king of Candy the last important place they had taken, named Colombo, they declared they were resolved to keep it as a security for the sums which he owed them. Even the Dutch historians acknowledge that their countrymen during the course of the war, which they purposely prolonged, suffered these sums to accumulate, well knowing, that as the king, when hostilities were ended, would not be able to pay them, they should then have a pretext for not restoring what was in their hands. This conduct is similar, but on a larger scale, to that of those who supply money to a person to carry on a law suit, in order that they may afterwards acquire a right to his property. The justice of both cases is the same. As such conduct is far from being praise-worthy in an individual, one might think that it would not be approved among princes ; but without approving it, they employ it when it suits their advantage. The Dutch have extended their territories in the island, and have possession of the whole coast. The Chin-

gulays seem to take no umbrage, and call them the protectors of their coasts: but they do not protect them for nothing. The whole trade passes through their hands. That carried on with precious stones, rubies, white and blue sapphires, topazes, and other kinds, is considerable. The elephants are the best in all Asia; and the Chingulays have a wonderful dexterity in taming them. The Dutch entertain great respect for the king; and every year the company sends an ambassador to him with presents. The king in return gives a casket of jewels of such immense value, that the vessel on board which it is put is said to be worth at least one half of the homeward-bound fleet. So much precaution is employed to conceal it from the crew, that the captain of the vessel does not know whether it be on board. It is packed up privately by the governor, together with other merchandize.

The exclusive trade in spices, and that with Japan, were not sufficient to gratify the ambition of the company. They made attempts also at China; but their proposals were rejected. This kind of disdain gave offence to the haughty Hollanders. The massacre of several thousands of Chinese at Batavia, under pretence of their being concerned in a conspiracy, is ascribed to revenge for their disappointment. It does not, however, appear certain that these Chinese were entirely innocent. Several kings were

obliged to bend under their despotic authority. That of Macassar, in the island of Celebes, notwithstanding the desperate bravery of his subjects, saw his kingdom become a province of the Dutch. In Java, the seat of their empire—but where they reckon, if we can credit them, thirty thousand souls who are independent—they excited the son against the father. The latter, who was their victim, died in irons. The king of Bantam was not more fortunate. They intermeddled also in the affairs of Bengal after their usual manner, that is, by giving laws. In short, to omit a thousand other acts, which the avarice of commerce authorizes and strict equity condemns, they proceeded so far as to compel nature to be subservient to their policy, by forbidding her, if I may be allowed the expression, to produce cloves but in Amboyna; or nutmegs but in Banda, of both which they were masters. In the other islands they caused them to be tore up by the roots. Thus Ceylon produces its cinnamon, Amboyna its cloves, and Banda its nutmegs, merely to enrich the jealous Hollanders, to the great detriment of other nations whom they thus render tributary.

During the long series of prosperity which the company enjoyed, it experienced no very remarkable reverse except the loss of Formosa. This island gave it great advantages in regard to the trade with China. The Dutch for a



long time disputed the possession of it with the Chinese, who at length took it, and still retain it; but the Dutch did not lose every thing, as they have had a factory there ever since. During the wars of France in Europe, they took Pondicherry. This city in their hands was embellished and fortified; but, what seldom happens, entirely at their expence, and they restored it on the conclusion of peace. When it is considered how many evils avarice has entailed on these countries, which nature by the profusion of her gifts destined for happiness; with how many wrecks those seas, interspersed with verdant isles, have been covered; and with how much blood those odoriferous shrubs, the fruit and bark of which stimulate our appetite, has been besprinkled; we might be tempted to curse commerce, the cause of all these misfortunes. We must not, however, render one nation more criminal than another; or believe that one has been impelled more than another to oppression and peculation by a peculiar character of ferocity. Maritime and trading nations are all the same; the dangers they encounter on the watry element, and the resistance they experience before they obtain the object they seek for, at the hazard of their life, render them obdurate and incapable of feeling. To this may be added that the crews of ships, in general, are composed of the dregs of nations,

whom their chiefs, to induce them to enter into their service, have flattered with the hopes of certain and speedy gain. After these reflexions, it need excite no surprize that they abandon themselves with madness to every kind of excess by which they can obtain riches. Had we as minute details of the commercial transactions of the Argonauts, the Phenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Tyrians, as we have of our own, we should find the same scenes of violence and injustice. Maritime commerce is at first humble and submissive—gives way to circumstances and insinuates itself into favour; it afterwards commands and compels: such is, and always will be, its progress. Seldom does it prove useful to those who go in search of it; and never does it render them happier. This much may be said in excuse for the Dutch; though I must at the same time confess, that no nation has committed in India more cruelties and more acts of injustice with greater coolness and indifference.

Whatever they did was the result of reflexion and system. It was by this sure and deliberate mode of proceeding that they were able to unite under their hands, and in one spot, the whole treasure of the spices, which nature had distributed in different places. We have seen that they confined the cinnamon-tree to Ceylon; the clove-tree, which grew in all the Moluccas,

they transplanted to Amboyna, and immured it within the boundaries of that island. They allow the nutmeg-tree to propagate in the isles of Banda; but they are strictly guarded by strong garrisons and by vessels, which hovering continually around them prevent all other nations from collecting their fruit. These unwholesome isles, so well guarded, are, if I may use the expression, the sink of Holland. It sends thither its malefactors whom the government does not choose to punish by immediate death. They are a place of correction also for young libertines, whose reformation is not entirely despaired of. These exiles are enrolled among the company's troops; but nothing can be more dismal than their fate in the isles of Banda. They are confined to wretched bread, made of the juice of a tree which grows in that country; and are obliged for the rest of their provisions to eat dogs, cats, and other animals that may fall into their hands; happy if they can catch a few fish, which on these coasts are not of the best sort, or secure a few tortoises, by turning them on their backs on the sand; but these they find only during six months in the year. The strongest of these garrisons is in the island of Celebes, inhabited by the Macassars. It was not without great difficulty that the Dutch subdued these warlike and obstinate people. They cannot even keep them in subjection, but by fo-



menting quarrels between their petty kings, and supporting the one against the other.

It is here to be observed, that nature, more powerful than the art of the Dutch, often conveys back the nutmeg-tree to its native country. Certain birds, which have been called the gardeners of aromatic plants, swallow whole nutmegs, return them by the usual passage, and replant them, as we may say, in the Moluccas, where they have been extirpated by the Dutch. When they found it necessary that this tree should multiply, they forbade these birds to be killed under pain of death; at present, they bestow a reward on every person who brings one of their heads: but these precautions do not prevent the nutmeg-tree from appearing in places from which they wished to proscribe it. Certain people are appointed to search for it, and to tear it up wherever they find it.

For the same reason that the island of St. Helena, though belonging to Africa rather than Asia, has been placed among the number of the English Asiatic possessions, I shall place among those of the Dutch East India company the Cape of Good Hope, which is situated exactly at the southern extremity of Africa. We find with pleasure that this colony, the most agreeable and the most flourishing, perhaps, which the Dutch have, was obtained without either cruelty or injustice. Van Riebeck, whose

name is worthy of being preserved, surgeon of one of the company's ships, having touched at the Cape, was struck with the extent of the bay, capable of containing more than a hundred vessels; its situation, half way between Europe and India; and the nature of the soil, which seemed proper for every kind of cultivation. From his own observations he formed the plan of a settlement; matured his ideas during the course of the voyage; and, on his return, presented it to the company. His plan was approved, and he received full power to carry it into execution. He set out with four vessels, having on board every thing necessary for an infant colony. Van Riebeck resolved to make justice the foundation of his proceedings. He purchased, therefore, from the inhabitants the country where he wished to form an establishment; gave them merchandize, to be selected at their own choice, to the value of fifty thousand florins; and did not oblige them to retire to a great distance. When they chose to be industrious, he paid them for their labour; when sick, he assisted them. In a word, he fulfilled all his engagements with the most scrupulous fidelity; and by these means inspired the Hottentots with a confidence in the Dutch, which still continues.

This colony has become, as it were, the foster-mother not only of the Dutch, who touch there in

going to and returning from the Indies, but also of other nations. They find there every thing to supply their wants, and in particular abundance of refreshments. The fruits of every climate have been naturalized in this happy country; and its immense magazines are filled with provisions of all kinds. The Dutch have applied to the breeding and rearing of cattle. Their settlements extend as far as three hundred leagues up the country, from which they bring down, on the arrival of the ships, numerous herds. They live in a state of perfect friendship with the Hottentots, who never rob them, though these savages are in a state of continual warfare with each other. The spirit of the worthy Van Riebeck seems still to breathe among these happy planters. In general, they enjoy good health. It is displayed in their countenances, by that cheerful and serene air with which they are animated. The complexions of the Dutch fair are enlivened here with a rudeness which is commonly denied to them in Europe. Vines have been planted at the Cape with success; and the Constantia wine is honoured with a rank among the most delicate kinds. There is a colony here of French refugees; and this is the only country perhaps in the world where they feel the least regret for the loss of their own.

Malacca may be compared to the Cape. If



the latter is the link which connects Europe and Asia, Malacca is the key of the commerce between the peninsula of India, the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, and the adjacent islands as far as China and Japan. The Dutch made a conquest of it from the Portuguese by the treachery of the governor. They had laid siege to the fortress, and began to despair of taking it, when the avarice of the commander threw open the gates. They promised him eighty thousand crowns. On this offer the governor gave them free admission. They rushed into the place, instantly massacred every person whom they found under arms, and proceeded straight to the house of the traitor, who believed himself in safety; they, however, dispatched him to save their eighty thousand crowns.

Besides the territories of which the company is sole master, there is no place in India where it has not factories, or at least commercial intercourse. It every-where shares in the trade of others, and suffers others to participate as little as possible in its own. It is astonishing what efforts it has made to appropriate to itself alone the purchase and sale of pepper; but this berry is the production of too many countries. It, however, endeavours to secure the best by treaties with the sovereigns where it abounds. When it finds itself stronger it compels them; when weak, it induces them by the payment of

a stipulated sum to prevent their subjects from selling their pepper to others: in a word, there is no cunning, no address, no violence, and no industry, which the subtle Dutchman does not employ to accomplish his ends. One might be induced to believe that he has no character but what is formed by circumstances. We may say, interest is his god; and he proves it at Japan.

Who is the man—who goes, as we may say, to expose himself voluntarily to insult? Who suffers himself to be received with contemptuous suspicion? Who allows himself to be confined and immured—to be constrained in his actions, his words, and even his religious opinions? It is the Dutchman at Japan. As soon as his ships appear, the governor of Nangazaki dispatches several boats filled with soldiers, who immediately surround them and carry away the cannon, the gunpowder, and all the arms, together with the rudder, sails, cables, and spare anchors. The crew are shut up in a small island called Dezima, where they are examined each in succession, and compared with the description of their persons, while the merchandize is unpacked; and if there be the smallest error in the invoice—if there be found an image or even a book which has the least relation to the christian religion, it becomes an affair of state, and must be communicated to the governor of the town; often to the governor of the

province, and sometimes even to the emperor. The trade is under great restraint; the prices of the different articles sold must not exceed a certain sum; all merchandize which goes beyond it must be stored up and kept till another year. The Dutch who remain to take care of this surplus must the year following re-embark; and their place is supplied by new comers, who, like their predecessors, submit to be kept in a state of civil imprisonment for a whole year in a small parched island, guarded day and night, and obliged, in the same manner as the Japanese, to perform what is called the *Jesuma*, that is, to tread under foot and spit upon the cross, when the time appointed for this general obligation arrives.

One might believe that some pleasure would be enjoyed by the director and three or four Dutchmen, chosen by himself, with whom he traverses the kingdom to pay his respects to the emperor, and deliver the presents sent to him by the company; but, under the pretence of honour, he is really treated like a prisoner during the whole journey. The transactions of each day are previously regulated, and nothing can derange them but a severe indisposition, or some other insurmountable obstacle. He is not allowed to speak to any one; to pay any visits, or to view public monuments or objects ever so little distant, which may excite his curiosity.



No liberty is left to him except that of looking at whatever is immediately around him; but if he desires information respecting any thing he sees he receives no satisfaction. When the Japanese are asked the reason of this reserve, and, above all, of the rigour which they exercise among themselves for the least infraction of their laws, they make the following sage reply: "We know the advantages of the government we have established, and we are unwilling to run the risk of a change by introducing among us your customs, which may be suited to your character, and which we do not condemn. Great revolutions are effected insensibly and by degrees. The desire of innovation can be cured only by continued precaution, and the rod of punishment."

It would appear as if this maxim had been the foundation of the laws and regulations which the company have established for their servants in India. To begin with the governor-general: though his power is very extensive, he is subjected to certain strict forms of etiquette which are a continual burthen. The supreme council may present to him very severe remonstrances; may even put him under an arrest and bring him to trial. Thus, with all his power, his situation differs very little from that of the doge of Venice, whose hands are tied though he is surrounded with honours. It must, however, be confessed,

that the great merit of almost all these governors, who are never raised to that office but by election, and in consequence of signal services, frees them in general from being subjected to servile rules; and the company, for the most part, has found its advantage in granting them that indulgence. In the same manner as the chief, all the subalterns, from the director-general, who is next in rank to the governor, down to the meanest lackey of the company, are obliged to conform to certain regulations, from which they are never suffered to depart. Command is galling: to the French subordination would appear servile. As the laws are well known, no excuse is admitted. "It is to the care which the company has taken in this respect," say certain authors; "to its wisdom in regulating trifling matters; to its great strictness, which some call excessive severity; and to its vigilance in maintaining the good order established with so much prudence; that we must ascribe the stability of its power, and the happy success of its designs."

Commerce  
of the  
Danes.

The Danes, celebrated as mariners, reduced under their power the British isles, invaded France through the mouths of its rivers, and founded the duchy of Normandy. They penetrated to the Mediterranean sea, and made their name known from the coasts of Naples to those of Asia. It could be only from Asia or Africa

that they borrowed the idea of the white elephant, which is the badge of the military order of Denmark. This country, at present so confined, gave laws to the whole north. Sweden and Norway were subject to it. At that period this kingdom, contented with the dominion of its power and its arms, paid very little attention to that of commerce. Emulation in this respect was not awakened till the year 1612, when an East-India company was formed under Christian IV. Being able to proceed only with a timid step in the traces of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English, already established and powerful, this company made a feeble and slow progress. By constancy and perseverance it however effected an opening for itself on the coast of Coromandel, in the kingdom of Tanjaur, where it built the city of Tranquebar, its only settlement, a few small factories excepted. It behaved with mildness and humanity in these countries accustomed to experience the injustice of the Europeans. The Danish company purchased its territories, and pays for them annually a certain acknowledgement.

Notwithstanding the pacific character of the Danes, they were exposed to vexatious acts of oppression from the raja of Tanjaur, who first gave them shelter. This prince possesses a dismembered part of the great empire of Bisnagar, the sovereign of which assumed the lofty and



whimsical titles of *king of kings*, and *husband of the thousand wives*. That of Tanjaur, accustomed to invasion, attempted several times to take back what he had ceded, and was always repulsed; but the commerce of the company, badly supported from Europe, fell and rose, yet was never in a flourishing condition if compared with the rest. It employs about two ships, which go and return, but not regularly. The kings of Denmark imagined they should be able to derive from this settlement a profit much more useful in the eye of reason than in that of commerce: to civilize the surrounding natives. They sent thither missionaries, who had very little success with the mahometans, but who have made considerable progress among the pagans. These apostolic labourers are highly respected in this part of the coast of Coromandel, where they have propagated their religion. They have also made known many things of which we were before ignorant, respecting the manners and customs of the Indians who inhabit the extremity of the peninsula, because they penetrated into the country and learned the Tamulic, which is the polite language, and that most common among the heathens. It is here to be remarked, that we are indebted to christian missionaries, whatever may have been their religion, for our earliest and most useful information respecting distant nations.

Should it be asked why the French, so active Commerce of the French, and so enterprizing, were so slow and unsuccessful in regard to the commerce of India, it may be replied, that it was owing to the abundance of their country, which is sufficient for its own consumption and for the purposes of barter; to the faults of its government, wavering and accessible to every project; and to the national character, fickle, inconstant, and fond of change. In 1527, Francis I. invited his subjects to undertake distant voyages. He renewed his exhortations in 1543 and 1575; and assistance was offered to those who should go out on expeditions of discovery: no enterprize of note, however, took place. In 1604, Henry IV. established a company; but it did not act: in 1611, it received encouragement and support from Louis XIII. but they were attended with no effect. A new company was formed in 1615, and sent out two ships in 1617, and three others in 1619; but so little advantage was derived from a voyage to the Indies, that it was thought prudent to confine itself to Madagascar.

Colbert, notwithstanding the extent of his genius, adopted the same narrow views, no doubt because he had no opportunity of doing better. It was necessary to give a stimulus to the nation. The pens of the most celebrated academicians were employed; and memoirs, which held forth the most inviting prospects,

and foretold the greatest success, were distributed in profusion. The shares were ensured by the sanction of the parliament. The king made a speech, and subscribed 300,000 livres. Through policy or zeal the greater part of the nobility interested themselves also, and their example was followed by the opulent. In 1665, four ships, well stored with every thing necessary to supply the colony with provisions, and to improve it, sailed for the island of Madagascar, which was now distinguished by the name of *Isle Dauphine*. In 1667, some vessels were dispatched from this settlement for Cochin. While on their passage the new settlers of Madagascar, finding themselves in a pleasant and fertile country, excellent for hunting and other diversions, gave themselves up entirely to these amusements, without thinking of the company by whom they were paid and maintained. The company treated them as they deserved, by requesting the king to take back the island, in which few of these pretended merchants remained. The most useful of them were conveyed to Surat in 1670.

The company, instead of applying seriously to commerce, amused itself with selling its privilege to private ships which traded in its name. It imported from India, or caused to be manufactured in France and Switzerland, white cotton cloth, which it painted or printed itself. The beauty of the designs brought a temporary profit; but this



traffic, which eluded the payment of the duties, embroiled the company with the farmers-general: the latter, more necessary at the moment, because they promoted the court loans, had the superiority. The company, when just on the brink of destruction, was stopped, if I may use the expression, on the edge of the precipice, by uniting itself to a China company in 1700; and in 1712, by an association of the merchants of St. Malo, who contributed to its support in India.

While the company was supporting itself in Europe by desperate measures—borrowing and paying, discounting and entering into new engagements—its servants were endeavouring to retrieve its finances in India.

A king of Visapour, whom they had found means to gain over to their interest, ceded to them a small district on the coast of Coromandel, where, in 1681, they built Pondicherry. This place, which had cost them immense care and expense, was taken by the Dutch in 1693: in 1697 it was greatly improved in regard to its buildings, and much better fortified: in 1710 it contained sixty thousand inhabitants. It was indebted for its aggrandizement to a governor named Francis Martin, a man of genius and intelligence. He persuaded the inhabitants to submit to some burthens in order to ensure the prosperity of their city; and by a conduct which

displayed moderation and equity, removed the jealousy of the natives.

As the French, at the time when they settled at Pondicherry, had no other power than what they obtained by their address, they were prevented on that account from abandoning themselves to their usual vivacity, and from shewing the faintest trace of that contempt for the manners of foreign nations which renders them sometimes insupportable. They displayed the fair side only of their character—candour, politeness, and affability; they behaved with the greatest respect towards the neighbouring kings and princes. This conduct procured them friends, from some of whom they received particular marks of esteem. They often performed good offices to the Indians as well as the Europeans, lived on friendly terms with each other, and protected the natives against the incursions of the plunderers and banditti by whom the highways had been before infested. By these different means they induced the Indians, a temperate, pacific, and industrious people, to settle in their territories, where they were certain of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour. This system, which they continued for more than fifty years, gained a high reputation to the French in India. The flourishing state of Pondicherry caused the principal seat of commerce to be transferred thither in the beginning

of the present century, and Surat has remained a plain factory, still important, but too much neglected.

No commercial company has experienced so many vicissitudes as the French East-India company. After the death of Louis XIV. the regent, in order that he might employ it as an ostensible support to his system, united the East-India company to a West-India company, which was announced to the public as an inexhaustible treasure. The edict of union gave to the association the lofty title of the *Perpetual India Company*. The privileges were declared to be perpetual and irrevocable : but as titles do not supply funds, the perpetual company found itself on the brink of ruin, when the exhausted state of the kingdom, a consequence of the prevailing system, prevented the government from affording it relief. The adventures and returns were irregular and uncertain ; heavy debts were incurred in India ; and the company was unable to take up its bills when they became due. Under the wise administration of cardinal Fleury, money was procured when it was no longer expected ; this was a happy change, but vicissitudes are always ruinous to commerce. The prudent minister supported, as long as he could, the tottering edifice ; and it was with the utmost regret that he found himself obliged to withdraw that assistance which had prevented it from tumbling :



but the war of 1744 gave a fatal blow to the company, which did not recover after the losses it sustained, and which were afterwards accumulated, notwithstanding the efforts of its brave defenders. It however still retains possessions capable of feeding the hopes of a warlike nation, which ought to consider it as below its dignity to suffer itself to be discouraged by misfortunes.

The isles of France and Bourbon, situated at a small distance from each other, and pretty near Madagascar, are places of great importance to the French for their India trade. The air in both is salubrious, though warm; but it is cooled by the breezes from the mountains, and by an annual hurricane. The soil of the Isle of France is not so fertile for rice and various sorts of grain; but this deficiency is supplied by potatoes and other roots. It produces also plenty of game; fish are abundant; the meadows afford nourishment to numerous herds of cattle, and the trees are beautiful, particularly the ebony, which in quality surpasses every other yet known. The land and sea tortoises, which were formerly common in these islands, have become scarce since the increase of their population. Bourbon possesses this advantage over its rival, that it produces excellent coffee; but the Isle of France has a good harbour, which renders it more convenient for trade: neither of

them is infested with venemous insects. These two islands are each nearly about thirty or forty leagues in circumference; they are well watered, and produce every necessary of life. At a small distance from them lies a very small one, called *Isle Rodrigue*, which, in some measure, is an accumulation of sand, inhabited by tortoises rather than men.

When the Portuguese discovered the Isle of France, they left there, according to their laudable custom, hogs, goats, and poultry, which the Dutch found greatly multiplied when they landed on the island in 1598. They named it the Mauritius, after prince Maurice, and began to form plantations. As they wanted hands in proportion as they increased, they sent to Madagascar for some of those blacks who had put themselves under the protection of the French, and whom the latter sold to them. These men, rendered slaves by the most villanous treachery, after living in a state of freedom, did not answer the expectations of their new masters; they made their escape into the woods, where they multiplied, and acquired so much strength, that they obliged the Dutch to abandon the island, but they did not quit their retreats, from which they sallied out on the ships that touched to take in water, or to refresh their sick. These acts of violence made the Dutch resolve to erect three small forts to protect the

watering place; but the blacks remained masters of the interior parts of the island, and forced the Dutch to abandon it a second time. The French, who had long kept their eye on this establishment, took possession of it in 1710, and gave it the name of *Isle de France*.

The affairs of the company, notwithstanding the sums it advanced to the new settlers, were attended here with so little prosperity, that it was deliberating whether, like the Dutch, it ought not to abandon the island to the blacks. While in this state of uncertainty, Labourdonnais stepped forwards, and induced the company to make a last effort. He departed in 1735 with very moderate resources. The conduct of this man, so ill rewarded, and who died in consequence of long imprisonment, deserves to be exhibited in all its details.

On his arrival, he found the Isle of France in as miserable a state as it was possible for a colony to be. The inhabitants, few in number, were ignorant, lazy, and mutinous, though half naked, destitute of defense, and perishing of famine. He sent for young negroes from Madagascar, gave them proper instruction, and employed them to compel the Maroon negroes either to submit or to quit the island. He scarcely found in it a single planter, artisan, or soldier; he became all these himself to induce the inhabitants to follow his example. When he landed,



he beheld nothing but miserable huts ; in two or three years, besides houses for individuals, he caused to be erected warehouses, arsenals, fortifications, barracks for the officers, mills, quays, and aqueducts ; among the last there is one three thousand six hundred toises in length, which conveys fresh water to the port and the hospitals. There were neither highways, horses, nor carriages : the governor taught the inhabitants to overcome all these difficulties. In the course of eighteen months he caused to be transported to the port timber of all kinds proper for ship-building, for making pontoons, for repairing ships, and constructing sloops and boats. In 1737 he launched a brig ; in 1738 he built two other vessels, and put on the stocks a ship of five hundred tons. All this was accomplished in the course of five years, between 1735 and 1740, and even before any one suspected that these changes were made ; so that when admiral Boscawen arrived at the island, thinking to take it by assault, he found it in the best state of defense, and was obliged to direct his plans of conquest against Pondicherry, to which the governor of the Isle of France was able to send assistance.

The Isle of Bourbon was also discovered by the Portuguese, who called it Mascarenhas, after the name of an illustrious family of Portugal. The French settled at Madagascar

had banished hither three men, who, being recalled at the expiration of three years, gave a very favourable description of it. Their relation excited the curiosity of Anthony Thaureau, an inhabitant of Fort Dauphin, and he removed to Mascarenhas, in 1654, with seven Frenchmen and six negroes. They gave it the name of Bourbon, erected huts, and planted gardens; but as they received no intelligence from Madagascar, they began to be impatient. In 1658 they went on board an English ship, which conveyed them to Madras. The French who escaped some time after from Madagascar, when expelled by the natives, irritated on account of their gallantries, being driven in two piroguas with their wives and children towards the Isle of Bourbon, thought themselves exceedingly happy to find there the huts and gardens of Thaureau. Whilst their little colony increased in peace, their population was augmented by the arrival of some pirates who had been shipwrecked on the shoals of the island: they took shelter in the island with some female Indians who accompanied them; were well received by the inhabitants, whose friendship they gained; entered into alliances with them, and formed only one people. They reinforced themselves afterwards by a great many slaves, who were necessary for the cultivation of their lands. The mixture of races was by these means increased: but it is wor-

thy of remark, that in regard to rank and privileges, there is no distinction in Bourbon between the blacks and the whites; though different in colour, they consider themselves no less members of the same family. A traveller relates, that he saw at church a great-grandfather perfectly black, the daughter a mulatto, the grand-daughter a mestizo, the daughter of the grand daughter a quaderon, and the daughter of the last absolutely fair. Bourbon, besides what is common to it and the Isle of France, produces cotton, pepper, benjamin, alum, and excellent tobacco. It contains a volcano, always in a state of eruption. It is intersected by mountains, covered with such impenetrable woods, that there are districts of the island which have no intercourse with each other but by sea. The inhabitants are exceedingly well made, remarkably nimble, brave, and ingenious.

This island was taken possession of by the company, which still retains also its factories at Mocha for coffee; at Surat for the trade of the Persian gulph; at Bassorah for that with Persia by land; and at Aleppo, as an intermediary magazine. In all these places the preponderance is disputed by the various nations of Europe, who however ought all to live in perfect harmony, both that they may not interfere with each other's markets, and by these means avoid



enhancing the price of merchandize, and that they may defend themselves in common from the vexatious oppression of the mahometan governors, with which they are equally threatened. The company preserves likewise some establishments on the coast of Malabar, but more on the coast of Coromandel, and particularly Carical, situated in a fertile district, which produces rice, cotton, and indigo. The French are indebted for this very profitable settlement to a treaty with the king of Tanjaur, and not to any act of violence; and it was by mildness and equity also that they acquired Pondicherry, which was raised to the highest state of splendor by the governors Dumas and Dupleix.

These two men, indeed, found themselves under very favourable circumstances, but they are entitled to praise for the manner in which they employed them. When Thomas Kuli Khan made the mogul emperor a prisoner in his own capital, the viceroys of that unfortunate monarch, who refused to arm in his defense, thought themselves sufficiently strong to conceive the idea of acquiring great states at the expense of the petty Indian princes their neighbours. Taoust Ali Khan, nabob of Arcot, a province on which Madras and Pondicherry depended, was one of these ambitious princes. He assembled a large army, subdued the surrounding princes, and carried his conquests to

the other side of the peninsula, with a design to get possession of a part of the coast of Malabar ; but the Indian princes, alarmed, applied to the Mahrattas, who inhabit the mountains, a numerous and warlike people, whom they persuaded that the nabob of Arcot, being a mahometan, intended to exterminate the pagans. The Mahrattas took the field in 1733, to defend their religion, and defeated the nabob of Arcot. He was killed before his sons, for whom he intended these conquests, and who were carrying on war in another quarter, could come to his assistance ; and the Mahrattas over-ran the whole nabobship, laying waste the country with fire and sword.

Ali Khan's widow requested an asylum from the governor of Pondicherry. He received her with politeness, and made it his study to procure her every thing that could alleviate her misfortunes. The Mahrattas demanded this family to be given up to them. Dumas refused, and supported a siege, which was attended with little bloodshed, as the place was strong and well fortified, and as these people were not much acquainted with the art of attacking towns. Having acquired abundance of plunder, they retired on receiving a present. A report of the generous behaviour of the French was conveyed even to the court of the mogul, with whom the nabob's son had entered into a reconciliation, and the

prime minister wrote a letter of thanks to M. Dumas. The son of the deceased prince came to see his mother, and to afford her consolation. The governor received him with every possible mark of honour. The prince highly pleased with his treatment, gave him three districts, producing an ample revenue; and sent him his father's armour and dress of ceremony, enriched with gold and precious stones. The grand mogul being informed of the grant made personally to the governor, was pleased to confirm it, and to add to it the dignity of nabob, which gave him the command of four thousand five hundred horse. Dumas requested that these favours might not be conferred upon him personally, but remain attached, in perpetuity, to the governor of Pondicherry, which was accordingly granted.

He was succeeded, in 1741, by Dupleix, who took possession of his dignity with all the pomp and splendor usual on such occasions. He surrounded himself in his government with every appendage of honour attached in India to that dignity; a numerous and splendid guard, with a brilliant band of music, placed at the most frequented gate of the city—a custom, which forms a part of the privileges of a nabob. While the French, who are naturally inclined to be intoxicated with favours, were highly gratified with these flattering marks of distinction, ad-



miral Boscawen arrived before the city. He disembarked a body of troops, and laid siege to the place. Vanity now gave way to military duty; every man became a soldier; and Dupleix shewed himself as capable in the field as in the cabinet. The English were repulsed, and re-embarked. This glorious defense procured the French new marks of esteem from the mogul court. The Indians, as ready to imitate their monarch as other nations, conceived for the French sentiments of friendship and esteem, which they still retain, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the nation.

The company carries on trade also with China. All its imports must be brought to Port l'Orient, situated on the coast of Brittany, at the mouth of the river Blavet. The largest ships may anchor even at the bottom of the bay, but few of them enter it. The *perpetual* company has been brought to ruin by the three causes, perhaps, which retarded its commencement, as I have already related: the abundance of the country, the faults of the government, and the national character. A fourth may be added, viz. that the centre of the company's affairs being in the capital, was at too great a distance from the sea: and it may not perhaps be improper to suggest a fifth; that, owing to the proximity of the court, interest was too predominant in the choice of men to fill the different employments.

The certainty of protection corrupts discipline, destroys subordination, and renders subalterns impertinent and disobedient to the orders they receive. It is certainly possible to observe a medium between Dutch severity, and the too complaisant urbanity of the French.

Commerce  
of Ostend.

Ostend, on the limits of the Netherlands and Flanders, with a good port, is admirably well situated for commerce; and yet this is the reason why it has none, or at any rate very little. All nations have endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of its trade, through a dread that it might injure their own. In 1598, when the king of Spain resigned the ten provinces, which had remained faithful to him, to the archduke Albert, and the infantia Isabella, he made it an express condition that the Flemings should not, under any pretence whatever, carry on trade either in the East or West Indies. This exclusive condition, which was introduced merely for the benefit of the Spaniards, has been insisted on by the Dutch, who threw off the Spanish yoke; or it has been held out by them to conceal the true reason—thirst of gain, avarice, and jealousy, which excited them to oppose the commerce of the Ostenders. The latter replied in a thousand different ways, in order to preserve that privilege to which they were entitled by the laws of nature. When the association was persecuted as a company, they sent out

private ships with *lettres de mer*, sometimes in the name of one power and sometimes of another. They changed the places which their vessels touched at, the routes they pursued, and the ports they frequented. From Hamburgh, on the coast of Germany, they removed to Sienna and Triest, on the Adriatic: they had some hopes also of being protected at Leghorn. But what could they do against the English, the Dutch, the French, and the Spaniards, while abandoned at the same time by the emperor, who ought to have protected them? The Ostend company made a figure in all the public manifestoes issued on account of the wars between the European states for nearly the whole of that century. It was often a scarecrow employed by the house of Austria, to procure the alliance of the maritime powers. Tired of being the sport of this policy, the merchants separated, and employed their capitals in other branches of trade. The Ostend company no longer exists; but should the interest of the powers of Europe happen to change, it is not impossible that it may yet be revived.

It was in a great measure to the downfall of <sup>Commerce of Sweden.</sup> this company that Sweden is indebted for the small branch of Oriental commerce which it cultivates. The warlike spirit of that nation, their temperance, and their severity of character, resisted for a long time the solicitations of com-



merce. Gustavus Adolphus encouraged his subjects to engage in this trade by letters of invitation in 1626. The celebrated Christina was desirous of forming establishments in Guinea and in India; but they displeased the Dutch, who contrived to ruin them. The arts of peace could not flourish under warlike kings, the series of whom ended in Charles XII. His successor made his subjects comprehend that the glory and happiness of an empire may be maintained without the whole nation being soldiers. This happy change in ideas took place at the time of the suspension of the Ostend company, which was a real dissolution. A number of active and able men being then destitute of employment, and obliged to push their fortunes, the king of Sweden received them into his service. In the year 1731, more than a hundred years after the exhortatory letters of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish monarch established a company, the seat of which he fixed at Gottenburg. The Dutch, as usual, exclaimed against this innovation; and besides some indirect acts of hostility, by refusing refreshments and other assistance to Swedish vessels, they even seized some of them. The king acted with firmness, and caused satisfaction to be made for the injury. This modest company never usurped any thing from the Indians, or the Europeans. Its agents, dispersed throughout the other factories as private

merchants, provide the cargoes, which are never very considerable, and consequently not capable of exciting the jealousy of the other companies. The Swedes are tolerated at China, and have a factory on the river of Canton. The example of the Swedes proves that trade may be carried on in India, without oppressing the natives or invading their country. In that case it might, perhaps, be less lucrative, but it would be more consistent with justice.

It may not be improper to remark, that before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope the Indians traded with Europe by three routes, which are still open :

1. From Bengal, or Mazulipatan, they went to Delhi, and then turning west to Cabul and Candahar, proceeded by Corasan and the northern part of Persia to the Caspian Sea, from which they continued their route to the Black Sea, and dispersed themselves through various maritime trading towns of the Levant, where their goods were received by the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians. Those of the coast of Malabar, setting out from Goa, transported their merchandize on oxen over that large ridge of mountains called the Gauts; and proceeded by Aurengabad and Tatta to Candahar, where they joined those from Bengal. The going and returning employed three years, and the whole journey was performed by land.

2. From Bengal and Masulipatan, they proceeded by sea to Surat. From that port, the grand emporium of India, they repaired to Bassora, at the bottom of the Persian Gulph. The merchandize put on board vessels in the Tigris was carried to Bagdad, from which it was transported on camels through the desert to Aleppo, where it was received by the Italian merchants, who dispersed it over all Europe. The time employed in going and returning was two years, half by land and half by water.

3. From Bengal, or Mazulipatan, they sailed to Surat, and thence to the entrance of the Red Sea. The Isthmus of Suez was the term of the Indian navigation; and there were two routes from that place for the European commerce: the longest, through the great desert to Aleppo, required forty days, with an escort; the shortest, from Suez to Cairo, through the desert, employed eighteen days, and was exceedingly dangerous on account of the banditti by which it was infested. By way of security, the caravans hired safeguards, who engaged for a certain sum to protect them from being plundered; and this practice is still followed. The guards, being associated with the wandering Arabs, can make them retire whenever they appear. The Europeans take charge of the remainder of the route to Alexandria, Rosetta,



and the other maritime places of trade in the Levant.

As this route requires only a year, or a year and a half, it has always been, and still is, the most lucrative when the caravan is not plundered or obliged to pay too dear to the Arabs for protection.

It is here seen that the greater part of these journeys is performed through countries subject to the dominion of the grand signior. By protecting the route, he might render it much more frequented, and procure immense benefit to his revenue; but the history of the Turks will shew that, though greedy of gain, they are much better calculated to acquire it by violence than by political combinations.

#### OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

The Ottomans are displeased with the name of Turks, which we generally give to them. They reject it as indicating a rude man; but it ought to be adopted in preference to any other, because it recalls the remembrance of Turk, a descendant of Japhet, the father of all the nations or tribes who inhabit Tartary. The branch of the Ottomans, by retaining that name, might boast of being the most illustrious in the world. It is believed, as has been already said, that they proceeded from Tartary towards the Caspian Sea, where there still exists a wan-

dering horde who speak the same language as the Ottomans. They thence penetrated into Persia, and dispersed themselves over Asia Minor, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, under Othman, the first of their chiefs who had any celebrity.

Othman,  
1st Sultan,  
1300.

Othman, with seven other Turkish captains, seized all the countries which had been in the possession of the Selucidæ in Asia Minor. His share was Bithynia. He rendered himself master of Prusa, which he made his capital. After a reign of twenty-seven years, which had been entirely spent in military expeditions, he died at the age of sixty-nine. He was succeeded by his son Orchan, who continued the conquests of his father in the Greek empire, and took Nicomedia and Nicea. As his soldiers hitherto had received no pay, and were therefore subject to mutiny, Orchan disbanded these troops, and composed his infantry of young men, taken from districts belonging to the christians, whom he caused to be instructed in the mahometan religion, and his cavalry of country land-holders of the Turkish race, whose property enabled them to dispense with pay. This prince was humane, and a friend to letters. He built at Prusa a beautiful mosque, and founded an hospital and an academy, worthy of royal munificence. His devotion and charity, however, did not prevent him from endeavouring to enlarge his kingdom

at the expense of the petty mussulman princes, his neighbours. Cantacuzenus, the Greek emperor, could not shelter himself from his attacks but by giving him one of his daughters in marriage. This alliance was highly advantageous to the Greeks, whom Orchan frequently assisted against those enemies who assailed them. The piety and justice of this prince are extolled by the Turkish historians. He died at the age of sixty-six, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Notwithstanding the good intelligence which prevailed very often between the Greeks and the Turks, the latter lost no opportunity of taking from the former whatever they found convenient.

Amurath I. the son and successor of Orchan, Amurath I.  
3d Sultan,  
1356. passed the strait of Gallipoli, and took Adrianople. It appears, by what happened to him in this city, that the Turkish emperor was not then more exempted than any other from the formalities of justice, and the external duties of religion. Amurath was summoned as a witness before the muphti, who to this quality united that of judge. As he was beginning to speak, the muphti stopped him: "Your testimony," said he, "can receive no credit." The prince looked at him with astonishment. "As emperor," continued the minister of religion, "your word is sacred; but here it has no force. Justice does not admit the testimony of a man



“ who has not yet united himself to the body of  
“ the mussulmen in public prayer.” Amurath  
was sensible of his fault; and, in order to atone  
for it, built a mosque, together with several  
schools,

Amurath I. instituted the corps of janissaries,  
or gave a solid constitution to the militia esta-  
blished by Orchan II. He ordained, that the fifth  
slave of those taken from the enemy should belong  
to the emperor. As incursions into the territo-  
ries of the neighbouring states, and particularly  
those of the Greeks, were then frequent, these  
captives soon formed a numerous body of young  
men, who were made to embrace islamism. The  
emperor sent this new army to a hadgi, or doc-  
tor, celebrated by his miracles and prophecies;  
begging that, in his prayers, he would recom-  
mend these militia to God. The saint, placing  
the sleeve of his robe upon one of their heads,  
said: “ Let their name be janissaries;”—which  
signifies new soldiers;—“ let spirit and boldness  
“ be displayed in their countenances; may their  
“ hands be victorious, their swords sharp, and  
“ their lances always ready to strike the enemy.  
“ Wherever they go, may they return with the  
“ visage of health.” Since that period they have  
retained the name of janissaries. Their cap has  
the form of the hadgi’s sleeve. They form a  
body of forty thousand men, the most formidable  
of all the Turkish troops.

The death of Amurath was accompanied with a very remarkable circumstance. He had just gained a battle which he fought with the Hungarians, the Wallachians, Albanians, Triballi, and other nations united. Congratulating himself on his victory in the field of battle, he said: "This success gives me more pleasure, as I dreamed last night that I had received a mortal wound from the hand of an enemy." On these words, a Triballian, who had been lying among the dead, started up, plunged his poniard into the emperor's belly, and killed him on the spot. He had reigned thirty-three years, and lived sixty-four. This prince is extolled for his justice, temperance, modesty, and piety. He was fond of the conversation of the learned.

Bajazet, though the eldest of the two sons of Amurath, had need of the suffrages of the great to enable him to mount the throne. His brother, who attempted to place himself there also, was strangled. This is the first instance among the Turks of that cruelty which has become so common. Bajazet is celebrated by his victories, and the most distressing of misfortunes. Never was any prince more speedy or more secret in his expeditions. He flew from Asia to Europe, returned from Europe to Asia, with the velocity of lightning. The Turks, therefore, have given him the surname of the Thunderbolt. To assemble an army, divide or unite it, disap-

Bajazet, 4th  
Sultan, 1389

pear and immediately return, and to shew himself suddenly when supposed to be at a great distance, were all operations with which he was familiar; but he sometimes found enemies equally active, and equally quick in taking advantage of circumstances.

Bajazet had defeated Stephen. The army of Moldavia was routed, and the prince was flying, hurried on by the rest. Being closely pursued, he presented himself before the gates of the city of Nems, where he had left his mother with a strong garrison. This magnanimous female called out to him, from the top of the walls: "Return, go and efface the shame of thy defeat. I had rather thou shouldst perish by the hand of the enemy, than have to reproach thyself with the infamy of being indebted for thy life to a woman." Stephen retired, struck with the reproaches of his mother; and meeting a trumpeter, commanded him to sound the charge. He was joined, in an instant, by twelve thousand Moldavians who had escaped the slaughter; the prince placed himself at their head, fell upon the enemy dispersed throughout the country, put them to flight in his turn, penetrated to the imperial tent, and compelled Bajazet to retreat, with a few followers, to Adrianople.

This city was at that time his capital; but he employed every method that force or stra-



tagem could afford, to procure one more important, and to establish his throne at Constantinople. He was master of the strait by means of his fleet, the first which the Turkish emperors had caused to be constructed. The troops destined to ravage the Grecian territories had hitherto been transported in vessels procured at hazard. Bajazet conveyed in his fleet a whole army, and landed them under the very walls of Constantinople. There was, however, no assault, as Bajazet trusted that the city would soon surrender, on account of a division which prevailed between the reigning emperor and a competitor; but the former chose rather to resign the sceptre to his rival, than to see it fall into the hands of the Turks. Bajazet was obliged to be satisfied with a tribute; but he shewed his pretensions to the city by requiring the establishment of a mahometan tribunal, for trying the causes of such of his subjects as resided in it.

He would perhaps have returned to make another attempt, had he not been prevented by the necessity of defending himself against the famous Tamerlane. It is allowed by the most respectable historians, that the sultan provoked the attacks of this enemy by his pride and bravadoes. He always replied with haughty insolence to the overtures of the Tartar prince, who wished only to accommodate some trifling differences which had arisen in consequence of their

vicinity. But Bajazet, jealous of the glory of this conqueror, seems to have been inflamed with a desire of bringing their strength to an open trial. He had that satisfaction in the plains of Prusa, which were the scene of one of the bloodiest battles ever fought. It continued a whole day. Thousands were killed on both sides; but after displaying the utmost efforts of valour, Bajazet was defeated and made prisoner. Two different accounts have been given of the manner in which he was treated by the conqueror. One says, that Tamerlane caused him to be carried about in his suite enclosed in an iron cage; and that he fed him with fragments from his table. The other, more credited and more becoming the conqueror of Asia, is, that he received his prisoner with friendship and esteem; that he consoled him under his misfortune, and intended to restore his crown: but Bajazet died in confinement, at the age of fifty-eight, after a glorious reign of fourteen years; the splendour of which was tarnished only by his last catastrophe.

There are reckoned to have been twelve years of interregnum; that is to say, of time which elapsed while the three sons of Bajazet each governed a part of his states, till the period when they were all united under one. Soliman, the eldest, who had escaped from the battle, collected some remains of the army, and maintained

himself at a distance from Tamerlane. When informed of his father's death, he assumed the title of emperor. Tamerlane invited him to an interview, with an intention, as is supposed, of placing the crown on his head; but Soliman gave an ungracious reception to his deputies. The conqueror, incensed, sent for Musa, Bajazet's second son; and putting the sceptre into his hands, addressed him as follows: "Receive the inheritance of thy father. A soul truly royal knows how to conquer kingdoms, and how to restore them. This is the only greatness to which I aspire." The Tartar then retired to his own states, and left the two rivals to contend for the empire, which he despised. Soliman was brave, but immersed in pleasure: he entertained few scruples in regard to religion, and was addicted to wine. These defects in his character induced several lords with their troops to espouse the party of his brother Musa, who was prudent, but too prudent for a nation who preferred in their princes military virtues to all others. A third, named Mahomet, remained in Amasia, from which he beheld the struggle of his two brothers. Soliman fell a prey rather to his own debaucheries, than to the ascendancy of his brother. He was killed, in a state of intoxication, in the bath. When Mahomet saw that he had only one enemy to combat, he applied to Manuel, the Greek emperor, and so-



licited his assistance. The emperor sent him whatever troops he could spare; and accompanied this service, with all those marks of attention which tend to enhance the value of a kindness. The Turkish lords, attached to Musa, rather through hatred and indignation, on account of the bad conduct of Soliman, than from affection for him, no sooner saw in the ranks a prince whom they could esteem, than they went over in great numbers to his party. Musa being abandoned, was killed in his flight; and Mahomet was proclaimed in his stead.

Mahomet I.  
5th Sultan,  
1413.

Mahomet, on ascending the throne, had an opportunity of displaying a noble character, the brightest features, in which were gratitude and clemency. The prince of Caramania, whom the emperor had pardoned for his rebellion, on receiving from him a sacred promise of future fidelity, again revolted, and was taken. Being carried before Mahomet, this prince addressed him as follows: "Thy perfidious soul has taught thee to betray thy faith. I find in mine sentiments more magnanimous, and more agreeable to the majesty of my name. The honour of my crown will not permit me to return thee like for like. The punishment of such an infamous wretch would tarnish my glory." Mahomet not only pardoned him, but restored to him his states. This was perhaps too much;

but he took the precaution to place garrisons in his strongest fortresses.

Manuel's generosity, when he assisted Mahomet to conquer his empire, was not free from the hope of reward. Mahomet had engaged to pay a sum of money, and restore certain places. When established in peace, Manuel sent an embassy of the ablest men of his court to congratulate him, and remind him of his promises. The sultan discharged them with the most scrupulous fidelity, and sent back the ambassadors loaded with presents. He, at the same time, said: "Tell the emperor, my father, that having been re-established in my states, by his assistance and the blessing of God, I shall in future be as submissive to his will as a son ought to the will of his father; and that I shall never cease to have a grateful remembrance of his kindness: let him only command; whatever he desires, I shall execute with attention and speed." We are told also of a noble reply which he made to the ambassadors of Servia, Bulgaria, and other petty states, which now form Turkey in Europe. Having admitted them to his table, and drunk their healths, he said, on their taking leave: "Tell your masters, that I offer them peace: that I accept the terms which they have proposed; and that I wish the God of peace may be an enemy to those by whom it shall be violated."

There is one event of his life which forms a contrast with the indulgence he shewed to the prince of Caramania; but the voice of nature is often silenced by policy. When Bajazet was taken at Prusa, search was made, but in vain, for his youngest son Mustapha, who had combated with his father. The most general opinion was, that he had remained on the field of battle: but a long time after, it was found, that a man who called himself Mustapha, had appeared in Wallachia. He was supported by Cineis, governor of Nicopolis, and master of the course of the Danube. His party increased, and became so formidable, that Mahomet thought himself under the necessity of going to attack him in person. The false or pretended usurper was beat, and fled with his protector to a Greek fortress. The governor being summoned to deliver them up refused, unless he obtained the consent of the emperor at Constantinople. Manuel approved of the governor's conduct, in not abandoning men who had thrown themselves with confidence into his arms; but he pursued, with his friend Mahomet, such measures as might induce us to believe that Mustapha was not such an impostor as they pretended. They agreed that the prisoner should be delivered up to Manuel, who was to confine him during his own life; that after his death his successors should be at liberty to dispose of him as they thought pro-



per; and Mahomet engaged to pay, every year, a very large sum to defray the expence of guarding and maintaining him. So many precautions would not have been taken with a manifest impostor. Besides, all those who saw Mustapha, found in his countenance the features of the person whom he pretended to be. His language did not belie the resemblance. It is a blemish, therefore, in the life of Mahomet, otherwise so respectable, to have condemned his brother to perpetual imprisonment, and not to have behaved towards him with the same generous sentiments as he did towards the prince of Caramania. Mahomet lived forty-seven years, but reigned only nine. His death was concealed forty-days by his visir Ibrahim, to give time to his son Amurath, to return from Romelia, where he was carrying on war. Mahomet had ordered this measure himself, and at the same time named Manuel guardian to his two other sons, in order to ensure the safety of their lives, if possible.

Amurath being only eighteen years of age, Manuel was afraid that advantage might be taken of his youth to make him issue some cruel order against his two brothers. In quality of guardian, he demanded his wards; but his demand was refused under a pretence that it was not proper to suppose these young princes to be educated in the christian religion. The emperor of Constantinople declared, that since his demand

Amurath II  
6th Sultan,  
1422.

was refused, he would find means to provide another successor to Mahomet. He accordingly released Mustapha, who had been treated almost as an impostor, and gave him assistance. A bloody war took place between the uncle and the nephew. Mustapha, very different from his brother Mahomet, broke his word to old Manuel, and refused to deliver up to him a place which he had promised. The latter abandoned him; and being then incapable of resisting Amurath, he was taken prisoner. The nephew commanded his uncle to be publicly hung, in order to perpetuate the opinion of his being an impostor. As Manuel had foreseen, the sultan freed himself from the oldest of his two brothers. Some of the lords, moved with pity, took up arms to save the second; but he also fell into the hands of his merciless brother, who caused him to be strangled, though only six years of age.

Policy, as much as a desire of placing his wards in safety, had induced Manuel to enter into the plot of the malcontents. They were not useless to him; for the embarrassment they occasioned to Amurath obliged him to raise the siege of Constantinople, which he attacked at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men. It appears, that the Turk then adopted another plan of operations; which was to fall upon the people who might give assistance to

the capital; to blockade it at a distance, and cut it off from relief. Hence arose the wars in which Amurath was engaged with the Transylvanians, the Iberians, the Wallachians, and all the inhabitants of Romelia, who could be of use to Constantinople; and above all with Hungary. The Turks, for the first time, attacked Belgrade, which they so often attempted to get possession of afterwards. The victories of Amurath produced a peace, which Stephen king of Hungary swore upon the evangelists to maintain. The sultan was anxious to obtain it from a motive which might not perhaps be readily guessed: to deliver himself from the cares of the throne, that he might enjoy life in the bosom of tranquillity. He, therefore, resigned the crown to his son Mahomet, who was then scarcely of age.

The king of Hungary imagined that the abdication of Amurath, would enable him to recover, with facility, what he had lost. At his instigation there was formed a kind of crusade. Bohemians, Poles, Germans, Venetians, and French, all flocked to his standards. The Turks, apprehending that their young emperor would not be able to resist this torrent, pressed the father to resume the sceptre. He gained the famous battle of Varna, in which the king of Hungary was killed. Amurath, it is said, caused the treaty which Stephen had violated, to be affixed to the point of a lance, with a paper con-



taining imprecations against his breach of faith. After this exploit, Amurath returned to his retirement, which he quitted once more to quell a revolt of the janissaries. He then retained the reins of government, which he rendered illustrious to the end by new defeats of the Hungarians, and by that of Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, who with moderate forces caused victory to be often doubtful, and made the last years of Amurath as warlike as the first. He lived forty-nine years, and reigned thirty.

Mahomet II.  
7th Sultan,  
1451.

Mahomet II. at the age of twenty-one, had twice mounted the throne, and twice descended with the docility of a submissive youth. Of several brothers whom he had, there remained only one, six months old: the rest had fallen a sacrifice to disease. Mahomet freed himself from all uneasiness on his account by putting him to death. His reign, which lasted thirty years, was a continued series of battles and victories, almost without a single reverse. He had, however, to contend with generals capable of suspending his progress, and of checking his ambition, had their forces been equal to their courage. Among these were the celebrated Huniades, king of Hungary; Matthias Corvinus his son, and above all Scanderbeg, the hero of the Epirotes, and even of the Turks: for they never speak of this warrior but with respect; and after his death they made relicks of his bones,

which they wore as a preservative against dangers.

We have seen, that Amurath paved the way to Mahomet for the destruction of the Greek empire. It was confined almost to Constantinople, the whole environs of which were already covered with Turkish fortresses, as so many advanced posts, destined to facilitate a siege. To these Mahomet added the two castles on the Asiatic and European side, which intercepted all commerce with the Mediterranean, and at length appeared under its walls at the head of forty thousand men. With such land and naval forces, supported by a train of artillery, superior to any ever before seen, and remarkable for the number of pieces, and the size of the calibre, it was impossible that his success could be doubtful. But however certain the success of this multitude might appear against a garrison of five or six thousand men the victory was dearly purchased. Mahomet behaved at the capture of the city in an equivocal manner; cruel and merciful, sparing the lives of a few of the vanquished, and giving up others to the sword, though in his eyes they ought not to have appeared more criminal; but, as we have seen, there was no distinction: the ruin was general, and no one was exempted from pillage.

When the capital was taken Mahomet turned his arms against what still remained of the Greek

empire, in the isles and on the continent. He first subjected the Morea to tribute; then conquered it; afterwards lost it by the efforts of the Venetians, and again subdued it entirely by means of the quarrels he excited among its defenders. He took the two Phoceas; made himself master of Chio and Lesbos, and had the honour of reducing Athens under his dominion, and of commanding in the country formerly subject to the laws of Lacedemon. The Albanians, brave soldiers, who are thought to be descended from the ancient Spartans, were of great service to him. By the death of Scanderbeg, Epirus also fell a prey to his arms. Matthias Corvinus, confined his exploits to Servia; and the knights of Rhodes opposed to his maritime invasions, a bulwark which he could not overturn; but he opened for himself an entrance into Italy by the port of Otranto. The reader may easily conceive what oceans of blood must have been shed to gratify the ambition of this emperor; to what misfortunes he exposed people whose submission to their sovereigns and laws he ought to have respected, and whose fidelity was always cruelly punished by this barbarous conqueror. Some qualities worthy of esteem, are, however, ascribed to him. His bravery and skill in the art of war have no need of being extolled: he gave too many proofs of them. He was well versed in the



Turkish sciences, and above all astronomy. He spoke the Greek, Latin, Chaldean, and Persian; had a great fondness for history; and punished robbery and every species of injustice with severity, though the greatest of robbers himself and the unjustest of men. In consequence of those faults, which the great dignify with the name of virtues, Mahomet paid no respect to religion or treaties when he found them in opposition to his interest; and he stained his sceptre with blood for the space of thirty years.

When Mahomet died, his youngest son Bajazet, whom he had named his successor, was in his government of Amasia, where he was preparing for a journey to Mecca. The chiefs of the empire wrote to him, that if he came to assist them by his arms and advice, it would be much more advantageous for religion and the state, than if he employed his time in a pilgrimage. He however replied, that it was not in his power to defer the *most holy pilgrimage*; that he would rather renounce the empire of the universe, than be unfaithful to his vow; but lest public affairs should suffer by his absence, they might acknowledge his son, Corcul, as sovereign until his return. Corcul was a prince of great mildness and modesty, and untainted by ambition; as he fully shewed when his father returned at the end of nine months. The devout emperor not being certain in what manner

Bajazet II.  
8th Sultan,  
1480.

he might be received, wrote to his son to retain the reins of government, and to the chiefs to obey him. In regard to himself, he asked only permission to reside at Nicea, as a private individual. The chiefs, who were perfectly satisfied with Corcul, presented themselves before him, and informed him, without farther explanation, that having heard of his father's return they were come to know his pleasure under these circumstances. As the prince had governed so much to the satisfaction of all ranks, had he testified the least desire of retaining the chief power, it is certain the crown might have remained on his head; but Corcul, with a kind of indignation, replied: "Do you doubt my fidelity  
"to my father? your artful discourse would in-  
"duce me to believe so. Are you ignorant  
"that my father did not resign his crown into  
"my hands; he only charged me to command  
"in his stead until he should return from a  
"pilgrimage, undertaken for the good of his  
"soul, and that of the state. In accepting it,  
"I pretended to no other merit than that of  
"obeying him. The empire is his; let him  
"resume it; I resign the sceptre. You will  
"never observe in me any other dispositions  
"than those worthy of a son and a subject."  
He then conducted all the chiefs into his father's presence, and, as soon as he beheld him, he addressed them as follows: "What you have

“ hitherto seen in me was only his shadow ;  
“ light appears, and the shadow vanishes. Thus  
“ to him alone respect and obedience are due.”  
Corcul assisted at his father’s coronation ; first  
paid him homage, and set out for Magnesia,  
with the train and appointments of an emperor.

During Bajazet’s absence, the Ottoman horizon became involved in a cloud which his return dissipated. This prince was born before his father ascended the throne ; but his brother, named Nizim, came into the world after his father had been in possession of the empire. Nizim, on this account, pretended that the crown belonged to him, and that his father had acted unjustly in conferring it on his eldest son. He conceived that the absence of Bajazet afforded him a favourable moment for asserting his right ; and the party which he formed placed him on the throne at Prusa. It was with much chagrin that he learned the return of Bajazet, and found himself obliged to contend with his brother for a possession which he thought a much easier task to take from his nephew. The presence of Bajazet, indeed, dispersed almost in a moment the whole of Nizim’s adherents. One battle was sufficient to decide the quarrel. Nizim, defeated, fled for shelter to the christians, where he died, as will be seen hereafter, a victim to treachery.

The devout Bajazet was no less warlike than



his father. He subdued the Moldavians; made a conquest of Caramania; rendered several of the Asiatic princes tributary; had considerable success in Syria, which he attacked; reduced Croatia under his power; and, in spite of the Venetians, occasioned great devastation in the Morea; landed a body of troops in the Isle of Rhodes, from which he carried off a considerable booty; and paved the way for the conquest of Egypt, by depriving the Mamalukes, who commanded there, of the necessary succours which they derived from Circassia. These Mamalukes were a military corps, who had seized upon Egypt. They recruited in Circassia, from which they procured their bravest soldiers. Bajazet, with a design to intercept from them this resource, entered Circassia, over-ran the country from one end to the other, and carried away from it a great number of captives. The source of the militia of the Mamalukes was thus dried up; and Cailebai, their chief, foreseeing the consequence of these precautions, died of vexation.

It will no doubt seem surprizing, that Bajazet, after so many exploits, being taxed with indolence and indifference for the glory of the empire, should suffer himself to be depressed by the load of this imputation. Exhausted, it is said, with fatigue and debauchery, he destined the crown for his eldest son Achmet. Selim, the youngest, being informed of this disposition, took

up arms, and demanded to have the preference. He was, however, defeated; and Bajazet forbade the fugitives to be pursued, in hopes that his son, rendered humble by misfortune, would return to his duty. Being now easy on this point, he resumed the design of giving up the empire to Achmet. The latter, as appears, fearing the intrigues of his brother, obstinately refused; and the old emperor, rather than abandon the sceptre to his rebellious son, resolved to sustain the weight of it as long as he lived.

In this situation of affairs, while enjoying a life of tranquillity, he learned that Selim was coming to pay him a visit; and that he was already in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. This prince had only a few followers; but he was sure of seeing them increased by the greater part of the nobility, who were ready to receive him; and above all by the janissaries, tired of a peace which had continued ten years. Selim, who was artful enough to cause himself to be solicited, replied to the first entreaties: "No, I cannot resolve to do any thing that is contrary to the will of my father. Alas! I have been sufficiently taught by experience that my designs are not favoured by God." He, however, yielded. On his approach, the whole court of the old emperor, a few individuals excepted, abandoned him in succession, and ranged themselves under the banners of his son. Eight days were spent

in receiving these deserters. During this interval, he sent to inform his father, that he only wished to pay his respects to him. "If such be his intention," said the old man, "why does he delay it? If he makes this pretext a covering to conceal impious projects, why does he lose his time to so little purpose?" At the end of winter he threw aside the mask; but he gave such a colour to his pretensions as might still leave to him the honour of apparent respect.

"Go tell my father," said he to one of his envoys, "that I will in nothing depart from the obedience which I owe to him; that I am ready to obey his orders wherever he may choose to send me. I only beg he will give me satisfaction respecting doubts which I entertain in regard to the present government." Selim then threw out some severe reflections against the government, under the form of questions. "Why has not my father," said he, "repulsed the king of Persia? Why has he not declared war against that of Egypt? Why has he suffered his empire to be degraded, and his troops to become languid by contemptible indolence? Are these," continued he, alluding to the courtiers who had remained with his father, "are these the invincible heroes who formerly caused the name of Bajazet to be respected by surrounding nations? With him, at present,



“ they lead a voluptuous effeminate life. Where  
“ then is the honour of the Ottoman sceptre?  
“ Where is our military discipline? Where  
“ the zeal of our fathers for the propagation  
“ of the faith?” After these ironical questions,  
the zeal of Selim was softened. He then said:  
“ I leave my father to judge, whether it would  
“ not be just to punish the authors of these  
“ disorders, and those who neglected to take  
“ measures for preventing them. Unless speedy  
“ means are employed to cut up corruption by  
“ the roots, I am afraid we shall become spec-  
“ tators of the ruin of the empire. And this  
“ evil, which I believe unavoidable, to whom  
“ must it be ascribed?—to the valour of our ene-  
“ mies, or our own supineness?”

“ Ah!” replied the emperor to the messen-  
ger, “ I perceive too well, that my son has not  
“ come hither with an intention of seeing his  
“ father. He is determined to be emperor, let  
“ it cost what it may. It is a dispensation of  
“ Heaven; I entertain no doubt of it after the  
“ dream which I had last night. I beheld my  
“ crown placed on the head of Selim, by the  
“ hands of soldiers. It would be impious not  
“ to obey the will of God. I submit to his pro-  
“ vidence, since it has so ordained: I resign my  
“ crown to Selim.” There was then a contest  
of submission between the father and the son.  
Selim begged that his father would remain in

the palace; and Bajazet persisted to refuse. "The same scabbard," said he, "cannot serve two swords." He caused his most valuable effects to be packed up; they embraced each other; and Selim received with affection the blessing of his father. The old emperor set out to depart; but he proceeded slowly, like one who quits a favourite spot with reluctance, and often casts a lingering look behind him. Poison or grief put an end to his affliction before he had travelled fifteen leagues, and his body was brought back to Constantinople. Selim went to meet it in deep mourning, and re-entered the city with a funeral pomp, which resembled a triumph.

Historians are not agreed respecting the age of Bajazet. Some say he was sixty-two when he died; others, seventy-seven or eighty. He had reigned thirty two years. No doubt can be entertained respecting his attachment to his religion, since in the commencement of his reign he preferred to a throne one of the duties which it prescribes. His son, however, accused him of indifference in that respect; but there are certain circumstances under which every calumny meets with credit. Even at his death, he gave proofs of his daily attention to its most minute practices. Agreeably to the literal interpretation of a precept in the Koran, he caused to be carefully collected and preserved the dust which adhered to his clothes; giving orders that after his death it should be formed into

a brick, to be placed in his tomb under his arm; that he might present himself before God, covered with the dust of the shoes of the Lord, and be thus preserved from the flames of hell. With this scrupulosity of character, he possessed a love for the sciences. He was fond of all the arts, and left several monuments of his taste in architecture.

The conduct of Selim towards his father, makes us less surprized at that which he observed towards his brothers. Achmet and Corcul, not so much through a desire of the throne, as of escaping death from their barbarous brother, took up arms against him. He defeated them both, and delivered them to the executioner. He condemned to death also five nephews, and a great many of the nobility, whom he considered as not well affected towards his person. In a word, he never wanted reasons nor pretences to issue the mandate of destruction. One day, having ordered the grand vizier to hoist the horses' tails, and to cause the tents to be erected in a convenient situation, the vizier asked him what place he thought most eligible. Selim made no other reply than to order him for punishment. Another, who received the like orders, and who asked the same question, experienced a similar fate. A third caused the tents to be erected towards the four quarters of the world; and Selim, charmed with the idea, ex-

Selim, 9<sup>th</sup>  
Sultan, 1512



claimed: "The death of two viziers has procured me a third, such as I want."

Raised to the throne by the suffrages of the soldiers, tired of repose, and breathing nothing but war, Selim began to think of gratifying their wishes. They had reason to be satisfied, had the object of their desire been only to combat. The emperor gave them frequent opportunities of trying their strength with the Persians; and few wars between these rival and neighbouring nations have been so bloody. These first attempts ended, as is always the case, where there is an equality of forces. Great slaughter was occasioned on both sides, and a peace ensued. Selim, however, obtained some provinces, and the inestimable advantage of preparing his soldiers for the grand expedition which he was planning against Egypt. Bajazet had paved the way for him by the ravage he made in Circassia, from which the Mamalukes derived their principal force. This war, even at the commencement, assumed a character of ferocious obstinacy, which announced some great catastrophe; but it affected only the soldiers: the people suffered very little, because they were neutral in the quarrel. Confined in the chains of the Mamalukes, it was of no importance to them whether they continued to struggle under their load, or exchanged their fetters for those of the Turks. Causual Gauri, chief of the Mamalukes, went

to wait for Selim near Aleppo, in Syria. Victory, which was ready to follow Gauri's standards, did not favour the Turks, but because the Mamaluke was betrayed. He was abandoned by his two principal officers in the very middle of the combat. Incensed at seeing himself defeated, he rushed among the thickest of the battalions; cut down every person who opposed him; and running from rank to rank, spread destruction wherever he came, calling out with a loud voice for Selim: but Selim did not appear: and Gauri, imagining that he found him in every soldier who came within his reach, made a dreadful slaughter. Foaming with rage, and out of breath, he at length fell dead on the bodies of those he had slain: and what must excite astonishment, without having received a single wound from so many swords lifted up against him. Tuman Bey, his successor, equally brave, and still more unfortunate, had not the honour of dying, like him, in the field of glory with arms in his hand. Having lost a battle, he defended himself two days, and as many nights, in Cairo. He disputed every street with the utmost obstinacy, and torrents of blood were shed in the struggle. He at last saved himself by flight; but he was taken at some distance, brought back to the city, and hung before one of the gates.

After this victory, Selim announced an inten-

tion of marching to Jerusalem. One of his officers, who thought he had sufficient business on his hand, asked him when he meant to proceed thither. It would appear that he asked this question in a tone which displeased the emperor, for Selim replied: "When it shall please God: but for thee, it is my pleasure that thou shalt remain here." And he immediately ordered him to be beheaded. Selim is the model of destroyers. As he imagined that he could not ensure the quiet possession of Egypt but by the total extinction of those who had been masters of it, he caused strict search to be made after the Mamalukes. Rewards were promised to those who should discover any of them; and punishment was denounced against those who concealed them. When he thought he had them all assembled, he caused a superb throne to be erected for him on the banks of the Nile, without the walls of Cairo. These unhappy wretches being brought into his presence, he made them all be butchered before his eyes, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Their number, it is said, amounted to thirty thousand; and thus he confirmed the justness of the surname which had been given to him, *Yaraz*, the Ferocious. On account of his furious and tyrannical disposition, which did not allow him to make any distinction between the innocent and the guilty, nothing was seen around him but victims. All mankind



appeared to him to be equally devoted to destruction.

Providence, however, freed the earth from this monster after a reign of nine years. He lived fifty-four, and died in excruciating pain, occasioned by a cancer in the reins. He is praised on account of his vigilance and activity, and for his great care to enforce obedience to the laws. To express the solicitude with which he wished to be informed of every thing, it was said proverbially, that "he knew in the morning what had passed over-night between husband and wife." At the very last moment of his life, he displayed a justness of thought, which forms a severe satire on the pompous monuments of some repenting sovereigns. One of his pachas, named Piri, happening to visit him at a time when he experienced remorse on account of some acts of extortion which he had committed in regard to Persian merchants, advised him to employ the money in building an hospital for the poor. His reply was: "O Piri, would you have me employ, through vain glory, in works of charity, the property I have unjustly taken from others? I never will. Let us endeavour rather to restore it to the lawful owners:" which was accordingly done.

A plain description of the rich jewels which Soliman affixed to his crown—cities, provinces, and kingdoms—gives him an elevated rank among

the most powerful monarchs. His battles and victories by land afford him a just title to the character of an indefatigable warrior; and the numerous fleets with which he covered the seas distinguish him among those politic princes who have known the utility of rendering themselves formidable on that element. The combination of his plans, and the wisdom of his measures, prove the extent of his genius, and his great application. From the choice of his generals and ministers, all able in their way, there is reason to conclude, that he possessed, in regard to the knowledge of men, that acuteness and penetration which are so necessary to sovereigns. In the last place, "To break one egg against another without staining the hands," was a Turkish proverb he often employed to express his own ability in paving the way for his success, without costing him any thing, as he took care to embroil his enemies in hostilities with one another.

Soliman,  
10th Sultan.

On taking possession of the Turkish empire, so prodigiously enlarged by Selim his father, Soliman conceived the design of extending it as much towards Europe as it was towards Asia. In regard to this gigantic project, the case was the same as with the alchemists, who, in searching for the philosopher's stone, though they fail of their grand object, make sometimes useful discoveries. The Turkish emperor acquired Eu-

ropean states, which indemnified him for his expenses, and among which was nearly the whole kingdom of Hungary. This conquest was preceded by that of the island of Rhodes, which had been gallantly defended by its brave knights, under the command of Villiers de l'île Adam, their grand-master. Soliman succeeded, but not without sacrificing a multitude of men to the swords of the knights, who were only few in number. The Turkish emperor observed with great fidelity the terms of the capitulation. He likewise paid great attention to the knights, and respect to the grand-master, whom he called his father; and observing the old man to quit his habitation with a dejected countenance, he said to one of his pachas: "It is not without pain that I oblige this christian, at his age, to leave his abode." This sensibility does honour to Soliman; but would it not be better had he given no cause for showing it?

The emperor, by the acquisition of Hungary, opened a wide passage for himself into Europe. Louis, the young king, in endeavouring to shut this passage, fell a sacrifice at Mohatz on the Drave. When the head of this unfortunate prince was presented to Soliman, he averted his eyes, and lamented his fate; but he continued his conquests. He had already taken Belgrade, called the bulwark of christendom. He took possession of Buda, and pushed as far as



Vienna, where his efforts miscarried ; but Hungary derived no benefit from this retreat. Having no longer to contend with the enemy within its confines, it found its bosom torn by pretenders to the throne. After the death of the young king, a competition took place between John Sepura, wayvod of Transylvania, and Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. The former, acknowledged by most of the Hungarian nobility, put himself under the protection of Soliman ; but this unequal alliance deprived of the crown a son whom he left in the cradle. The widow, unable to defend herself against Ferdinand, solicited the assistance of Soliman. He flew to the relief of his fair suppliant, with the utmost tenderness ; defeated the archduke ; made the most specious promises to the mother, and caressed the child ; but banished both of them to a small town, and declared Hungary a province of his empire. He added to it Transylvania, Albania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and several islands of the Archipelago ; where he caused his flag to be displayed under the command of two celebrated naval commanders, Barbarossa and Dragut. Soliman at length extended his reputation to both extremities of the world. At the same time that he subdued Bagdad on the Tigris, faithful to his ally, Francis I, he united on the ocean the Turkish crescent to the oriflame of France, made incursions into Persia, and threatened Ger-

many with an invasion, when he was carried off by death, at the age of seventy-four, after a reign of forty-one years, which still ended with a triumph: Zigeth, a town of Hungary, to which he had laid siege, surrendered at the very moment when he expired.

Soliman had one fault, with which a certain river god is reproached by an ancient poet: too much complaisance for his wife. Roxalana, with a view to secure the empire to her darling son Bajazet, inspired the emperor with suspicions against Mustapha, born of another mother, a prince worthy of esteem for his excellent qualities. The father, seeing only with the eyes of the step-mother, sent for the unfortunate Mustapha; and, without suffering him to speak, caused him to be strangled in his presence. He was, however, punished for his unjust cruelty, by the discord which arose between Bajazet and Selim, another son of Roxalana, who raised troops against each other. When Soliman wished to effect a reconciliation between them, Bajazet wrote to him an insolent letter, desiring that he would not interfere in their quarrel. After Roxalana's death, her favourite fell a victim to the indignation of his father. He fled to Persia; but the vengeance of Soliman pursued him thither, and found means to sacrifice him in that foreign empire to the manes of the unfortunate Mustapha. None of his sons remained at

the time of his death but Selim, who succeeded him. Before Soliman, the Turks had no other laws than certain established customs never committed to writing. These Soliman collected, and formed into a code, which is still followed in the Ottoman empire; and he was thence styled the framer of rules, or the legislator.

In order to conceal the death of Soliman until the arrival of Selim, who was in his government, the grand-vizier caused his physicians to be put to death, and all those who had a right to approach him. Thus Selim was the first person at Constantinople, and with the army, who heard of the death of his father. Soliman was declared a martyr, because he had died while carrying on war against the infidels; and a conqueror, because his troops, after his death, had taken two cities in his name. Selim's first measure was to make peace with Germany and Persia. He detached from the empire of Russia thirty thousand Nogay Tartars, with whom he peopled the Crimea; and he reduced to obedience Yemen, which had manifested some symptoms of revolt. His conquest of the island of Cyprus from the Venetians is a celebrated event; but the famous victory which the Venetians gained over the Ottomans in the gulph of Lepanto, has been considered by the christians as a compensation for that advantage. A Turkish nobleman, at that period, gave a very just idea



of these two events: "The loss of the fleet," said he, "is to Selim what the loss of the beard is to a man who has been shaved, and whose beard will again grow up. Whereas the loss of Cyprus is to the republic like the loss of an arm, which, when amputated, can never be recovered." Selim, indeed, soon sent to sea another fleet, which assisted to drive the Spaniards from Africa; and to make his authority be recognized at Tunis and Algiers. Since that period the Porte has always enjoyed there more or less influence than was obtained by Selim. This prince conducted very few military operations himself; but he has nevertheless been accounted brave. Nature seems to have distinguished him from his predecessors by mildness. He lived in a familiar manner with his domestics; and was fond of decent raillery, the conversation of the learned, and farces, and buffoons. He is praised for his liberality, clemency, and justice. No person could be more regular in his devotions, or more scrupulous, except in regard to wine, of which he was fond, and in which he freely indulged. This dangerous friend was the cause of his death; at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of five months and a half.

The reader must no longer expect to find in the Turkish history any of those astonishing events which, while they excite interest, engage

and fix the attention. This empire may be compared to a river, which having frightened, by its frequent inundations, the inhabitants of the adjacent plains, obliges them to take the precaution of confining it within its bed by dykes to defend them from its ravages. In the same manner the neighbours of the Turks, incessantly harassed by them, especially in Europe, erected fortresses, like so many dykes, against their sudden incursions; and maintained large armies always in readiness to oppose their invasions. With regard to Asia, it may be observed, making use of the same comparison, that the destructive torrent has continued to diffuse itself from time to time even to a distance, because it is not confined and repressed by the same means; but the Turks, being confounded there with people who made no resistance, resemble a river which loses itself in the sand, without deserving that its course should be followed. The assaults, the battles, and the negotiations, being almost always the same, some few shades of difference excepted, I shall attend only to facts which present some striking singularity, or which have been attended with important consequences. It is thus possible that the life of a Turkish emperor, though abundant in warlike deeds and treaties, may be reduced to very few domestic events of consequence.

Such is that of Amurath III. though it lasted Amurath III. 12th Sultan, 1595 fifty-two years, and his reign twenty. He began the latter by an atrocity which ought to be ascribed, say some authors, rather to political custom than to any natural inclination to cruelty:—he caused his five brothers to be strangled in his presence; but he could not help shedding tears at this tragical spectacle. Did policy require that he should be a witness of it? The janissaries revolted; and it was necessary to appease them by a present: but, on another occasion, seeing them surround his palace, he caused the gates to be opened, and fell upon them at the head of his domestics. This act of daring boldness was attended with success; and they returned to their duty. It was, perhaps, to give employment to these untractable militia, that Amurath, who it is said was not fond of war, was continually engaged in it against the Persians, often against the Germans, and frequently against the Venetians. He subdued Georgia, which he lost, and afterwards recovered. He had success, and experienced reverses in his operations against the Druses and Turcomans, as well as in those which he carried on in the Crimea, Wallachia, Croatia, and Transylvania; and these varieties confirm our observation, that boundaries are established for ever to the invasions of the Turks.



Mahomet III.  
13th Sultan,  
1595.

Nineteen brothers strangled, and ten concubines pregnant to their father, and all thrown into the sea, were the first events of the reign of Mahomet III. Was this also policy? He experienced three revolts of the janissaries; two of which were appeased by money, and the third by the sacrifice of his ministers. He saved his mother, whose head was demanded by the soldiery. She was preserved by being removed for a time from the government. Too great confidence in the women of his seraglio was in this prince an hereditary vice, for Amurath had been reproached with the same.

No less cruel to his own offspring than he had been to that of his father, Mahomet sacrificed his eldest son, a prince of estimable qualities, on very slight grounds of suspicion. He had no share in the wars of his time, except that of being the cause of them. Immersed in the pleasures of his seraglio, he bestowed no other attention on public affairs than what he could not deny them. His subjects rewarded him properly for his indifference. He was neither feared nor beloved. He died, therefore, very little regretted, in the flower of his age, after a reign of nine years.

Achmet I.  
14th Sultan,  
1604.

For the first time, the reins of the empire were transferred to a minor, being entrusted to Achmet I. only fifteen years of age; but his young

hands did not seem to be embarrassed by them. He began by removing the sultana, his grandmother, whose ambition and intriguing spirit had been the cause of great uneasiness to his father. He had need of firmness to re-establish, throughout every part of the government, the good order which the weakness of Mahomet had suffered to be interrupted: but the janissaries becoming every day more mutinous, involved him in cares from which he could not free himself, except by sending them to Asia. Under his reign, those fires, which are now so common, began at Constantinople. It is said that they never break out but when the people are discontented; and that this is the manner in which they make remonstrances. Under the same reign we find the first instance of that submission with which the great resign themselves to the fatal bow-string, on a bare order from the sultan. The grand-vizier, to whom Achmet owed many obligations, put an end to his days in this manner. He is said not to have been cruel, yet he committed murders in his seraglio through jealousy and brutality. He maintained in it a thousand females, all christians. He kept in pay forty thousand men for nothing else than hawking; and to unite every extravagance in one, he incrusted the walls of the superb mosque which he caused to be built in imitation of St. Sophia with two hundred plates of gold, having

inscribed on them the name of the prophet, and sentences set round with diamonds, which raised the price of each plate to at least fifty thousand crowns. From this specimen, some idea may be formed of his other expenses. Achmet lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen.

Mustapha,  
15th Sultan,  
1617.

He was succeeded by his brother, a circumstance which would do honour to his humanity, did we not know that Mustapha was indebted for his life to the policy of the great, who seeing only these two descendants of the imperial family, when Achmet mounted the throne obliged him to preserve his brother. This prince shewed himself unworthy of the crown, being occupied only with pleasure. When raised to the throne, he had been brought from an apartment in the seraglio; at the end of three months he was sent to prison in the castle of the seven towers.

Othman II.  
16th Sultan,  
1618.

Othman, his nephew, the youngest son of Achmet, was substituted in his stead. As he was only eight years of age, the janissaries ought not to have imputed to him a crime very heinous in their eyes, that of transferring his throne into Asia, because he was not able to drive them from Constantinople, where they harassed him by a continual spirit of revolt. They not only massacred the grand-vizier, whom they believed to be the author of this measure, but their fury was extended even to the young emperor. They deposed him, confined him in prison, and drew



from it the weak Mustapha. The first measure of those who governed under his name was the murder of young Othman, who was strangled at the age of twelve, and in the fourth year of his reign. The uncle derived very little benefit from the misfortune of his nephew. The same incapacity which had before deprived him of the throne, made him fall from it once more, but with humiliating circumstances. He was treated as an idiot; led about upon an ass, exposed to the derision and insults of the populace; and then carried back to prison, where he was strangled by the orders of his successor.

This successor was Amurath IV. brother of the unfortunate Othman. He at first experienced from the janissaries the same insults as his brother; but he repressed their turbulence as soon as he was able to place himself at the head of his armies. He then found himself free from every kind of rebellion, either on the part of this licentious militia or of his other troops. No emperor was ever so absolute, none was ever so much dreaded, and none was ever so formidable. It is said, that during the seventeen years of his reign, he killed, or caused to be killed, fourteen thousand men. His amusement was to run about the streets in the night-time with his sabre in his hand, and to cut down all those whom he met. Sometimes also he dis-

Amurath IV.  
17th Sultan,  
1622.

charged arrows at the passengers from the upper windows of his palace. This prince was an expert marksman, an excellent rider, and intrepidly brave. In the field, he gave his soldiers an example of frugality, and of abstinence from every kind of luxury. He used only coarse food, had no other bed than a carpet, and slept with his head on his saddle. He is praised on account of his talents for public business; and his acute, penetrating, and solid judgment.

He had need of these qualities, to prevent any misfortune happening to him from his numerous faults, which he did not conceal; and above all drunkenness, a vice so odious to the Mussulmen. One indeed might have said that he endeavoured to render it honourable, by affecting to make the gravest characters, judges and ministers of religion, the companions of his debaucheries. He permitted wine to be sold publicly, because he was fond of it; but he forbade the smoking of tobacco, which he detested. He conceived a taste for wine from the following adventure. Making a tour, in disguise, through the streets of Constantinople, he observed a man rolling on the ground, and exciting the laughter of the populace. Having asked the reason, he was told that the man had drunk too much wine. At the same time, the drunken man started up, and in an imperious tone commanded the em-

peror, to stand aside. "What," replied the emperor, "do you command me to stand aside?" "I am the sultan Amurath." "And I," returned the man, "am Mustapha the drunk. If you will sell me this city, I in my turn will be sultan Amurath, and you shall be Mustapha the drunk." "And where is your money to buy it?" said Amurath. "Don't give yourself any uneasiness respecting that," continued the drunken man. "I will do more; I will purchase you also." He then lay down again, and composed himself to sleep.

Amurath ordered him to be carried to the palace. Mustapha, when he awoke, finding himself in a magnificent apartment, did not know whether he was dreaming—whether he was not in paradise, and asked those around him. Being told what had happened, he was filled with terror, especially when he recollected the cruel character of Amurath. After a little reflection, he called for a flask of wine, and hid it under his garment. When introduced before the emperor, the prince said: "I must have so many millions for the city—where are they?" Mustapha drew out his flask, and replied: "Behold what might purchase Constantinople. This treasure is preferable to all those of the universe." The sultan was struck with the drunken man's humour; tasted the wine; found a genial warmth diffuse itself through every vein; fell asleep;



awoke with his head a little deranged; drank again by the advice of Mustapha to cure it; relished the liquor so well, that he could never after abstain from it, and Mustapha became his principal favourite.

Tiriaki, however, an intrepid smoker, frightened by the threatening edicts of Amurath, had formed a cave under the earth, to which he could retire, in order to smoke at his ease. The emperor, being informed, no doubt, came upon him by surprize; and the smoker was about to pay dear for his pleasure, when he exclaimed: "Get thee hence! thy edict was made for the upper regions; and does not extend to those below the earth." This sally saved Tiriaki. Amurath was fond of those amusements which reduced him to a level with the people: to cook; to fetch wine from the taverns, and to drink without ceremony with those whom he met. One imperial pleasure, in which he indulged sometimes, was to make droll marriages of women of fourscore with young men of fifteen or twenty; and of young women with decrepid old men. Amurath left no children. He had one strange whim, which was to be the last of the Ottoman race; and for that purpose, he intended to put to death his brother Ibrahim; but he gave his orders too late.

Ibrahim,  
18th Sultan,  
1639.

When the nobles repaired to the prison in which Ibrahim had languished four years, in a

state between life and death, he barricaded the door, and refused to admit them. They were therefore obliged to carry thither his brother's body. This sight inspired him with courage; he opened the door, and they placed him on the throne. Ibrahim was as fond of women as his brother had been of wine; but he could not, like him, unite pleasure with business. His mother took possession of the government, and maintained an ascendancy over her son, by supplying him in abundance with such objects as were most capable of exciting and keeping alive his licentious passions. All those who were desirous of obtaining his favour, ministers and generals, vied with each other to procure him the same gratification; but he did not confine himself to their offerings. A woman of intrigue, by his express order, went about to all the baths to give him an account of the beauties most worthy of his notice. Unfortunately, she bestowed such encomiums on the daughter of the muphti, that the sultan proposed to the father to marry her. The muphti, fearing that the emperor's passion might be only a transient whim, refused the proffered honour. Carried away by the impetuosity of his desire, Ibrahim caused the daughter to be seized; shut her up some days in the seraglio, and sent her back to her father with contempt. This act of violence cost him his crown and his life. The muphti, in concert with other great

men who were dissatisfied with the sultan's effeminacy and his insignificance in the government, excited a revolt among the janissaries. Ibrahim, unable to resist, consented to be deposed and confined in his apartment, provided his life were saved; but in a few days he was strangled at the age of thirty-two, after having reigned ten years.

Mahomet  
IV. 19th  
Sultan, 1649

He was the last of the three sons of Achmet, who reigned after each other; and by a remarkable singularity, three of Ibrahim's sons ascended the throne in succession also. Another singularity is, that Mahomet reigned with glory for thirty-five years. After so long a time, which ought to have established his power, he was forced to abdicate, and survived his deposition without being troubled or molested in his apartment, which served as his prison: an uncommon instance of the instability of human affairs! His exploits are not so far distant from the present period as to be obscured by the veil of time. Every one must recollect the famous siege of Candia, which subjected the ancient Crete to the dominion of the Crescent. At the beginning of this century, fathers at Vienna used to relate to their children the battles which they had witnessed under the walls of that city, when the great Sobieski disappointed the hopes of the musfulmen. The arms of Mahomet were, however, more successful against Buda, the capital



of Hungary. All those parts of Germany which border on the Turkish empire were always ravaged by the generals of this emperor, who is accused of being incapable either to make peace or carry on war, because his defeats were more frequent than his successes. As these misfortunes were increased during the four last years of his life, they served as a pretence for the conspiracy which deprived him of the diadem.

A misunderstanding, occasioned by the ascendancy which the grand-vizier had over Mahomet, prevailed among the chief officers of the empire. This minister had often abused the confidence of his master; and to conceal his incapacity, had even caused punishment to be inflicted on men who were rather entitled to reward. Sinan Pacha, one of the officers destined for death to gratify the minister's vengeance, took advantage of the discontents created among the troops by some defeats; and knowing that there was no money in the treasury, instigated them to call for their pay, or the head of the vizier. This minister, being alarmed, left the army privately, and was the first to inform the emperor of the threatened danger; but things had taken a much worse turn after his departure. In an assembly of the principal chiefs, Sinan had induced them to enter into a resolution that they would not be satisfied with the head of the vizier, but that they should demand the depofi-

tion of the emperor himself. After this revolution, the army began its march towards Constantinople, sending before it a letter, written according to Sinan's views, the purport of which was as follows: " That the army was proceeding to Constantinople, not with an intention of committing any thing that bore the least resemblance to sedition, nor of making any attempt against the sacred person of his highness, but only to demand satisfaction for the treachery and desertion of the vizier." As the army still approached, it was found necessary to give up the unfortunate vizier, who was accordingly massacred.

The emperor finding that by this event he was put in possession of what he thought sufficient to gain over Sinan, offered him the place of grand-vizier. The offer was accepted; but Sinan immediately became suspected by the soldiers, and with great justice; since having attained to the object of his desire, this ambitious man began to do every thing in his power to support him by whom he had been elevated. His designs did not escape detection. He lost his credit; and the confidence of the faction was transferred to two others, who proceeding straight to the end in view, went at the head of a formidable band, and told the emperor, without ceremony, that he had been deposed by the body of the lawyers, the militia, and people; and ex-

horted him to quit the sceptre with a good grace, and resign it to his brother Soliman. Mahomet listened with great coolness to this summons, and began to enter into an explanation respecting his conduct. "I am not come," said the orator, interrupting him abruptly, "to hear your apology, but to command you in the name of the mussulman nation to quit the throne. There are no other means by which you can save your honour and your life." The disconsolate emperor replied: "Since it is on my head that the divine wrath excited by the sins of the mussulmen must fall, go tell my brother, that God has declared his will by the mouth of the people; and that it now belongs to him to govern in future the Ottoman empire." After these words, he shut himself up in his apartment, which he never more quitted. He lived fifty-two years, and reigned thirty-five. Mahomet scarcely ever commanded his troops in person; and this perhaps was the cause of the revolt of the soldiers, who were not personally acquainted with him. He distinguished himself by his inclination to mercy. At the time, however, of the revolt, hurried on by the particular circumstances of the moment, he wished to put to death his brother, that he might deprive the rebels of that resource; but he was prevented from carrying his design into execution.



Soliman II.  
20th Sultan,  
1685.

When the deputies of the rebellious soldiers carried to Soliman his brother's dimission, they were astonished to hear from him the following answer: " In the name of the immortal God, " why do you thus come to interrupt my repose? " Suffer me, I conjure you, to spend peacefully, " in my retirement, the few days of life which " still remain. Let my brother continue to govern the empire: it is a right given him by " nature. As for me, I was born only to meditate on the things of eternal life." It was with great difficulty he could be persuaded to comply with the wishes of the military. It was almost necessary to employ violence, in order to drag him from his prison. He seated himself on the throne, not without trembling; and while receiving the usual congratulations, cast his eyes around him with an air of uneasiness, as if he expected every moment to see his formidable brother appear with his mutes and their fatal bow-string. He, however, assumed courage, and familiarized himself with command.

His first care was to confirm Sinan in his dignity of grand-vizier. The minister, having now need only of obedience, endeavoured to appease the rebellion of the chiefs who had co-operated with him in the revolt; but the latter, seeing themselves exposed to be punished by their former accomplice, excited the janissaries against him. They represented him as a conspirator,

and an enemy to Soliman, whom he wished, they said, to dethrone. Sinan was attacked in his palace. He made an obstinate defence; but was at length overpowered, and hacked to pieces. The person appointed to succeed him, by the favour of the janissaries, who prescribed to the emperor whom he should choose, soon fell into discredit, because he endeavoured to divide that mutinous body, in order to weaken them. They, however, perceived his stratagem, guessed the object he had in view, and massacred him. The people, during this insurrection, proceeded to excesses before unknown among the Turks. They violated, if I may be allowed the expression, the sanctuary of the seraglio; carried out the women, and dragged them naked through the streets. After this act of licentiousness, nothing was respected, and the pillage of the opulent became general.

The *ulema*, that is, the body of the lawyers, who, by their murmurs, had contributed to the degradation of the imperial dignity, and to the disorders which ensued, having assembled, hoisted the standard of Mahomet, and dispatched couriers to every quarter to summon the mussulmen who wished to avoid the imputation of being infidels to range themselves under it. They flocked thither in crowds. Others assign a different cause for this union, which put an end to the sedition. After five months anarchy, dur-

ing which the janissaries put to death those who displeased them, created and destroyed pachas at their pleasure, a trifle, it is said, made them all return to their duty. Four janissaries, availing themselves of their usual right, stole a few handkerchiefs in a shop. The merchants, tired of these acts of pillage, took up arms, and killed two of the thieves. An emir, that is to say, a descendant of Mahomet, a plain individual, affixed a white linen cloth to the end of a pole, and cried out: "Let every true mussulman repair to the seraglio, to beg the sultan to hoist the standard of the prophet, in order that the rebels may be exterminated." Among this multitude, assembled round the sacred standard, there was certainly a great number of the most zealous promoters of the revolt; yet when the emperor asked them what had brought them thither, and what they wanted, they all exclaimed, that they wished to see put to death the chiefs of the mutinous militia, their first instigators. They were immediately given up, and punished on the spot. The multitude then dispersed, and each retired quietly to his home. Commerce and business regained their usual course; and the city, which had been so much distracted for eight months, assumed an aspect of tranquillity. It appears that these happy effects were owing rather to the lassitude of the people, than the prudence of the government. The pro-



vinces, which had been agitated in consequence of the troubles in the capital, were restored to a state of peace also.

Soliman had been only a spectator of the storm. Like a navigator, shut up in his vessel, he suffered himself to be buffeted by the waves, without taking any share in the management of it; happy if a favourable gale made it advance towards port: but the mahometan horizon was far from enjoying that serenity which the indolence of Soliman desired. He had to support a disastrous war against Germany and Venice. The misfortunes it occasioned were attended with the most ruinous consequences, and induced the sultan to make secret proposals for peace. The court of Vienna did not know how to take advantage of the circumstances of the moment; it insisted on too high terms; and whilst starting objections to the favourable conditions offered by the Ottoman court, it saw appear Kiopfuli Mustapha pacha, who regenerated the empire.

This man had taken no farther share in the late troubles than what was consistent with his own safety. When they subsided, he was raised to the office of caimacan, or governor, of Constantinople, on account of his talents, and the need which the sultan had of them; but affairs taking a more serious turn, he was appointed grand-vizier. As soon as installed, he assembled a council, composed of the great officers of the

empire, and asked whether it would be most prudent to make peace or to carry on the war. The muphti, who spoke first, declared for peace. The greater part of the rest adopted his opinion, and informed the grand-vizier that there were private envoys at the court of Vienna who had been charged to enter into a negociation on that subject. "I am not astonished at this intelligence," replied Kiopruli warmly, "when I consider the manner in which you have conducted yourselves for seven years in regard to the Germans. During that time, I have observed nothing but want of capacity in the generals; blindness in the counsellors; and among the people of the law, corruption of heart, or base souls subject to the control of fear. The viziers and seraskiers have been occupied only in assembling numerous armies; and the counsellors in filling the sultan's coffers, let it cost what it might. The *ulema*, satisfied with their rich revenues, and with enjoying the sweets of repose, gave themselves little trouble whether the empire was well or ill governed, or to reform the manners and morals of the people—the sources of the present calamities. They assented, therefore, to the first proposals for peace; and in some measure compelled the mahometans to accept it. When it pleased God, incensed by repeated acts of infidelity, to remove the peace

“ which was proposed on honourable terms,  
“ they had recourse to their ancient method of  
“ blaming the sultans, though the whole evil  
“ arose from themselves. After this, is it sur-  
“ prizing that God should have denied assist-  
“ ance to the mussulmen? The promises of our  
“ prophet suppose certain previous conditions:  
“ pure hearts in the soldiers; the practice of  
“ good works; and the love of justice in those  
“ who preside over the government of the  
“ people. All these virtues have been banished  
“ from among us; but give me only twelve  
“ thousand true followers of the Koran, men of  
“ pure hearts and minds, and I hope, with the  
“ assistance of God, to humble the infidels, how-  
“ ever numerous their armies.”

After this severe censure, which was directly applicable to the greater part of those who heard him, Kiopruli caused them to enter into a resolution to continue the war. He broke off the negociation at Vienna; and made every possible exertion to collect a strong army, and to supply it with ammunition. The treasury was absolutely exhausted. He examined with severity the expenditure of the public money; raised contributions from those who were able to bear taxation; abolished all exemptions and other abuses; caused to be paid into the treasury those sums which the pachas, clerks, and collectors, had fraudulently withheld from it, and increased



it by donations or legacies of money, which superstitious devotion had formerly bequeathed to the colleges of the imans. The chief iman considered this action as a sacrilege; but Kiopruli replied, that the riches destined for religious uses ought to be employed in wars of religion.

This pious motive was of wonderful use to him in forming his army. Before his time, force had been employed in procuring recruits. Kiopruli, on the contrary, declared, that as he intended to entrust the command to no one but himself, he would receive no soldier who had been enlisted by violent means: "I shall only remind the mussulmen," said he, "that by the command of God, and his holy prophet, no one is allowed to shun martyrdom, and to despair of success when arms are taken up to defend the law, and to extirpate the infidels. Every good mussulman, therefore," added he, "who in his conscience believes himself obliged to follow that law, has only to come and enlist if he is disposed to endure every thing for the faith. He, on the other hand, who doubts, or who fears to expose himself to martyrdom, or who has indispensable business sufficient to excuse him before God, may remain at home: There, after having purified himself from all his sins, he ought to endeavour, by his prayers, to obtain the blessing of God for the arms of the empire: and even if he should belong to

“ the military profession, he shall neither be  
 “ fought for nor punished, but shall receive his  
 “ pay in the same manner as if he were in the  
 “ army.” No person wished to be exempted ;  
 and by one sentence of the Koran, the vizier, in  
 a short time, raised more and better soldiers than  
 had been procured by the stratagem, violence,  
 and threats, before employed to complete the  
 armies.

Kiopruli kept his word ; put himself at the  
 head of the main army ; and while the other of-  
 ficers, as if they had already felt his influence,  
 began to obtain advantages, in order to inspire  
 confidence into his troops by some brilliant ac-  
 tion, he proceeded to lay siege to Belgrade. He  
 took that fortress, and was preparing to prose-  
 cute his success, when fear of the sudden death  
 of the sultan, who was attacked by the dropsy,  
 recalled him to Constantinople. That prince  
 died at the age of fifty-two, in the fourth year of  
 his reign. No emperor ever equalled him in ob-  
 servance of the law ; though possessed of very  
 little genius, he read a great deal ; he was ex-  
 tremely simple in his manners, and much fitter  
 for a dervise than an emperor.

Achmet II. a brother worthy of Soliman, had  
 as little judgment, and as little influence in  
 the government. This prince never made use  
 of his reason ; he approved every measure the  
 moment it was proposed to him ; and nothing,

Achmet II.  
 21st Sultan,  
 1691.

therefore, could be so stable as his government. Kiopruli placed him on the throne, that he might not behold there Mahomet IV. who was still in life, or his son Mustapha, either of whom might have avenged himself for the indirect part which the grand-vizier had taken in the deposition of the former. Scarcely had Kiopruli rendered this service to Achmet, when he was exposed to the danger of being rewarded by disgrace: he was extricated from this danger by his courage and resolution. He began then to think of supporting his authority by some new success; and putting himself at the head of his army, marched in quest of the enemy on the banks of the Danube. When, on the point of obtaining a victory, he received a ball in the head and fell. This accident discouraged the Turks, and they abandoned the field of battle, from which they could with difficulty carry off their dying general. When Achmet had no longer Kiopruli to fix his wavering resolution, he listened to every advice that was given him. The one destroyed the other: but this was of little importance. The case was the same with counsellors, and particularly grand-viziers; he changed them as he did his resolutions; and public affairs were conducted merely by chance: he was, however, suffered to remain at the head of them, on account of his bad health, and because his dissolution was daily expected. He



at length died at the age of fifty, after a reign of four years. This is all that can be said of him as a sovereign. As an individual, we may observe, that he was of a cheerful disposition, lively, and agreeable; a poet and musician; possessed of a happy temper, and incapable of doing injury. If Soliman his brother was fit only for a dervise, Achmet, at least, in private life, would have formed a very amiable character.

Mustapha II. young and active, seemed to give new life to the empire, which had languished under his predecessors. The care which he took, and the exertions he made, to form the troops under his own eye, inspired the nation with the greatest hopes. He declared that he would lead the army against the enemy himself: he did so, but to meet with a more disgraceful and more complete defeat than ever the Turks had experienced. This misfortune induced the sultan to sue for peace. Though it was equally desired by the emperor of Germany, and the other confederate princes, the preliminaries were not easily settled, as each power, through a point of honour, was unwilling to make the first overtures. Mauro Cordato, the chief interpreter of the Porte, removed this obstacle by deceiving their vanity. According to the Persian proverb, that a lie which settles a negotiation is much better than a truth which involves it in difficulty, he presented himself to each of the parties,

Mustapha II.  
22d Sultan,  
1695.

as commissioned to solicit peace for the rest; and when he had thus brought the business into a proper train, without any detriment to the point of honour, he smoothed the other difficulties, and was the happy instrument of a peace, which was highly necessary to both empires.

Being freed from this war, so ruinous, the sultan, like his brother Mahomet, thought of nothing but enjoyment. He gave himself up to the chase, and left the government to his ministers, and particularly the grand-vizier. He was however deceived; public business was badly conducted, and the people began to murmur. Mustapha supported his vizier; but being forced to abandon him, he shewed as much obstinacy in regard to his successor, though neither abler nor honest, and employed only in increasing his own fortune. Under a negligent prince cabals are formed at court; and the hatred of the people becomes more inveterate. What in other countries is attended only with loss of favour, occasions at the Porte the death of rivals; but these murders incense the partisans of the unhappy victims. It is very uncommon, therefore, to see a reconciliation effected between them. The grand-vizier wished to get rid of the muphti. The muphti overturned the grand-vizier; and the friends of the latter laid a plan to entrap the muphti and the new grand vizier his protector. By an inconceivable error, in this state of fer-

ment, the muphti and the vizier neglected to pay the troops: they therefore revolted, and took up arms at Constantinople. This mutiny was concealed from the sultan, who daily went out on his hunting excursions in the environs of Adrianople. He believed it to be only a trifling affair, till he learned that the whole army was at the gates. The janissaries, as usual, sent to inform him that they had not taken up arms to fight against him, nor against the mussulmen, but to summon his unfaithful ministers before the tribunal of the Koran, and to oblige them to submit to a judicial examination; that if he employed the sword, in an affair of this nature, they would repel force by force; and that he alone would be responsible for the blood which might be shed. After some difficulty, the sultan gave up the muphti, and a few others, whom they massacred, by subjecting them to the most horrid tortures: but, while the emperor was deliberating, the mutineers, certain that they might some day be punished by a prince whom they had so grievously offended, if they suffered him to remain on the throne, wrote to the sultan Achmet his brother, and invited him to repair to the army.

Mustapha intercepted the letter, which threw him into great perplexity. There were two measures to be pursued: either to resign the crown to his brother, or to put him to death, in



order to deprive the rebels of this resource. Mustapha's humanity revolted against so unnatural an action. He went in quest of his brother; embraced him with the tenderest affection; informed him that he was invited to mount the throne; saluted him emperor; and said on taking leave—"Remember, brother, that I suffered you to live in perfect freedom. I beg you will behave in the same manner towards me; but never forget what those traitors are who have been the instruments of your elevation. If you leave their crime unpunished, they will not fail to treat you in the like manner." After this advice he shut himself up in the apartment which his brother had quitted; but grief put an end to his days in the course of six months, after he had reigned almost eight years. This prince, attached to his religion, was neither avaricious nor prodigal. He was a friend to justice; but reprehensible for not having retained after the peace that activity which he shewed during the war, and for suffering himself to be ruled by ministers whose bad conduct occasioned his fall.

Achmet III.  
23d Sultan,  
1705.

His successor, Achmet III. did not forget his brother's counsel. It is estimated, that in five months he dispatched more than fourteen thousand soldiers, who had taken the greatest share in the rebellion, without including a great number of officers and pachas. They were carried

away in the night-time, and drowned in the Bosphorus. These executions of those who were most intimately connected with the people, and who kept them in agitation, re-established tranquillity in the city; but they did not banish from court those intrigues and cabals which in that reign produced changes of the ministry, depositions, and frequent sentences of death against the great. The affairs of the empire went on, however, in their usual train: that is to say, they were conducted more according to the interest of the ministers than as became the glory of the empire. Some think that they can discover this fault in what took place with regard to Charles XII. king of Sweden, who when beat by the Russians threw himself into the arms of Achmet. The grand-vizier, it is said, was bribed by Russian gold to refuse succour to that monarch.

Notwithstanding the interested condescension of the Turkish ministers, a war broke out between the Porte and Russia: that with Germany and Venice was also re-kindled. Another was carried on in Persia; and, though these military expeditions were not always unsuccessful, they reduced the empire to a state of general weakness, which was felt, above all, in the capital. Scarcity and dearth of provisions; the want of trade; the burden of the troops, who in going from Europe to the army of Persia behaved in

Constantinople as in a conquered city; all tended to irritate minds which only waited for an opportunity of shewing their displeasure. To this may be added the discontent of the troops, who threw the blame of their defeats on their chiefs; the secret intrigues of a few of the members of the law, and of some preachers, who were dissatisfied with the ministers. Such were the causes of a revolt which dethroned Achmet, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

This enterprize was undertaken by three obscure men. One of them named Patrona, because he had served in the navy on board a galley called the Patrona, was a seller of old clothes; Emir-Hali, the second, was in no very high situation; and Muslu, the third, sold fruit. The latter, a doctor among the Turkish populace, possessed some eloquence, because he could read and write. All the three were janissaries. Patrona first opened the business to the other two, whom he found disposed to second him. Each associated with himself three others. This band of twelve divided themselves into three, and each marched through the streets, with their swords drawn, and a flag displayed, calling out: "Shut your shops. Let every good mussulman follow us to the grand square, where they will be informed of the just complaints we have to make against the minister."

These cries brought a crowd around them;



and it soon increased by the absence of those who might have checked the progress of the rebellion. The sultan and the vizier were engaged in their pleasures; and the governor was planting tulips at his country retreat. The head of the courts of justice was also at one of his villas, and treated as a trifle the intelligence which was brought to him. The grand-vizier's lieutenant had disappeared. The aga of the janissaries alone set out with his ordinary guard to march against the rebels; but finding it impossible to oppose them, he fled to conceal himself, without even informing the sultan or the vizier of what had taken place. When they learned the truth, they returned to Constantinople, but it was now too late. Some troops whom they wished to lead against the rebels refused to obey; and they were therefore obliged to have recourse to negotiation.

Achmet sent to ask the rebels what they desired. They replied that the grand-vizier, his lieutenant, and the governor, together with his two sons-in-law and the muphti, must be delivered up to them; that in other respects they were satisfied with his highness, and wished him every happiness. The emperor begged they would be contented with their dismissal; but the mutineers would not agree. As they insisted on their demand with threats, Achmet reluctantly determined to sacrifice the three victims. They

were accordingly strangled, and their bodies delivered to the enraged multitude ; but the latter did not mean to stop after having proceeded so far. To suffer Achmet to reign after committing these excesses, would have been exposing themselves to his vengeance. The punishment he inflicted on the rebels who had seated him on the throne, was an excellent lesson for those who wished to depose him. They endeavoured therefore to find out a pretence for depriving him of the crown. This pretence was, that though they asked for the three criminals alive, they had been sent to them dead ; and for this reason they insisted on the sultan's demission.

It is believed that they were directed in their proceedings by Ispiri Zadé, chaplain in ordinary to the court, who under a simple and devout air concealed the most unbounded ambition. He had been loaded with favours by the grand-seignior ; yet he did not hesitate to engage to perform the most odious part in the revolution. When the sultan perceived him, he thought he saw a friend, and asked him : “ Are the rebels “ appeased ? Why do they not retire ? I have “ done more for them than I ought. What do “ they wish farther ? ” “ My lord,” replied Zadé, with a modest look, “ thy reign is ended. “ Thy subjects will no longer acknowledge thee “ as emperor.” “ Why did you not tell me

“ sooner,” replied the sultan in a passion; “ you  
“ who came hither every day ?” Without any  
more deliberation, he then ran to find his ne-  
phew, the son of Achmet II. laid hold of his hand,  
and conducting him into the imperial chamber,  
placed him on the throne. “ Remember,” said  
he, “ that your father lost the throne which I  
“ this day resign to you, and that I now lose it  
“ only because we reposed too much confidence  
“ in our viziers. Had I conferred on them less  
“ authority, and had I demanded from them a  
“ more exact account of the affairs of the em-  
“ pire, I should perhaps have finished my reign  
“ with as much glory as I began it. Adieu.  
“ I wish your’s may be happier. I recommend  
“ to you my son and my own person.” He then  
retired to the apartment which had been occu-  
pied by his nephew.

Achmet III. was the third sultan deposed in  
less than a century, and deposed in the capital.  
It is astonishing that the example of the first,  
who was subjected to that dismal fate, did not  
afford a salutary lesson to the rest; and that on  
the appearance of the first spark of sedition they  
did not retire into the provinces where they  
might have collected around them troops and  
skilful commanders, by whose assistance they  
might have been able to extinguish the flames.  
Achmet, however, was supposed to possess po-  
litical knowledge and ability; he applied to



business; but he had two ruling passions—the love of women, and the love of money. By the one he was lulled into the inactivity of voluptuousness; and by the other, deprived of the service of those hireling agents whose discoveries are necessary to a sovereign, to enable him to regulate his conduct in the stormy times of turbulence.

Mahomet V.  
24th Sultan,  
1730.

Mahomet being conducted to the throne, sent for those by whose means he had been placed upon it. Patrona appeared with his legs bare as when he used to sell old clothes, and in the habit of a janissary. The sultan asked in what manner he wished to be rewarded. “Since thy soul is open to gratitude,” said Patrona, “I demand from thee some splendid proof of it. Abolish instantly those imposts under which the empire now groans.” The emperor immediately caused to be proclaimed the abolition of a very burthensome tax, imposed by his predecessor; and, at the same time, announced the usual gratification to the troops. Patrona required that the new levies should have a share of it. When this measure was known, it caused a great multitude, induced by the temptation, to range themselves under the imperial standards. Old and young, infirm persons, and men absolutely incapable of military service, might be seen hastening thither to get their names enrolled. All the treasures of the sultan would scarcely

have been sufficient to pay them. The lieutenant of the aga of the janissaries made, therefore, some remonstrances; Patrona gave evident signs that they displeased him; the officer was massacred, and the money was distributed with the utmost prodigality, and in the greatest confusion.

This violence gave Mahomet reason to apprehend, that if he suffered these men to remain in Constantinople they might make him pay too dear for the service they had rendered to him. The council endeavoured to devise means for removing them. The emperor proposed to Patrona the government of Natolia, and the title of pacha. He, however, begged to be excused on account of his profound ignorance. The aga of the janissaries, thinking to gratify the prince as well as Patrona, proposed to give the latter a hundred thousand sequins, and to let him retire wherever he thought proper. "I have no need of money," replied the haughty janissary; "if I desired it, all the purses of Constantinople are at my service:" and casting a furious look at the aga, he had the boldness to say to him, in the presence of the emperor: "Never interfere with any thing that concerns me, if you wish to escape the fate of your lieutenant."

This want of respect confirmed the emperor in his design of removing to a distance this rebel; but Patrona, who perceived it, redoubled his audacity. The grand-vizier caused a procla-

mation to be issued to the troops ; that as it was contrary to law to march with arms through the towns in the time of peace, they ought to lay them immediately down. The rebels despised these orders : and Patrona and his accomplices appeared every day at the divan armed with large cimeters ; seated themselves in a familiar manner close to the grand seignior ; administered justice in defiance of him ; gave away places, and obliged him to confer offices of distinction on their creatures. One day he met a butcher who had formerly supplied him with meat on credit. Patrona gave him a thousand sequins, and said : " Don't you wish to outlive me ? " " No," replied the butcher. " Well then," added Patrona, " go tell the vizier that he must create you prince of Moldavia, in the room of " Gregorio Giffa, with whom we are dissatisfied." The grand-vizier durst not refuse ; and the new prince was admitted to kiss his highness's hand.

Patrona, encouraged by this success, declared himself aga of the janissaries. It was soon known that he aimed at nothing less than to make Muslu, the only one among them who could read, grand-vizier ; another, governor of the city ; and himself captain-pacha, or high-admiral. These exorbitant pretensions deprived the rebels of many partisans, even among the janissaries. Zadé, the preacher, who conducted the revolu-



tion, had detached himself from them, when his services were rewarded by the grand-seignior by an honourable and lucrative employment. Patrona, Muslu, and Hali, intoxicated with their power, were the only persons who did not perceive that they were daily exposing themselves to the danger of losing it. It is not known what they meant to propose in a divan or council of state, which they appointed under the express condition that a few persons only should be admitted into it. The grand-seignior, whom they had emboldened, convoked the council in the form which the three tyrants required. They assembled, accompanied by forty banditti, whom they called the *forlorn hope*. They made the escort halt under the porch of the inner court. The rebels entered the divan with their usual audacity, and were received with the honours to which they had been accustomed. The grand-vizier opened the sitting by a distribution of employments to the rebels and their creatures. While they were enjoying the pleasure of seeing their wishes even anticipated, on a signal agreed, men placed behind each of them plunge their poniards into their backs, repeat their blows, and lay them all dead on the pavement. The *forlorn hope* were then called in five by five; and in that manner were butchered. Next morning, carriages loaded with the bodies of these unfortunate wretches were seen coming

out from the seraglio, preceded by men who proclaimed aloud : " Such shall be the fate of all " those who dare to rebel against our most puissant monarch." They were applauded by the people ; the janissaries testified their joy ; and without any public order, this event occasioned a general rejoicing throughout the city.

The Ottoman empire, both in Asia and Europe, is composed only of conquered nations. Few of them are interested in the preservation of its integrity ; and there are none really attached to the government, but the great who command, the soldiers who are paid, and, in general, those whom the police or religion invest with authority. The word country is there unknown, and the provinces are very indifferent in regard to what is passing in the capital. There is nothing but commerce which could unite these nations, so dissimilar in manners, customs, opinions, and religious principles ; but the merchants, instead of being protected, are exposed to innumerable acts of oppression on the part of the Turkish governors ; and, above all, the Jews, who experience under the Turkish dominion that harsh treatment which, as we shall see, they have been accustomed to among all nations through a long series of ages.

## JEWS.

A nation which for eighteen centuries has existed amidst contempt, hatred, and bad treatment from all the rest; groaning under the severest captivity; a prey to cruelty and persecution; devoted to insult and ignominy; harassed and tormented; the perpetual object of violence and injustice; a victim to the most distressing calamities, and always inundated by rivers of its own blood which has been shed, deserves not to be lost in the wide field of history. Its misfortunes, collected into one point of view, will exhibit a kind of prodigy which arises from the perpetuity of its existence amidst the most effectual causes of destruction.

The Jews, to elude the prophecy, which foretold that the Messiah should be born when the sceptre passed from Judah, say that it remained during the Babylonish captivity among the chiefs chosen to govern them under the name of the princes of the captivity. When they lose the traces of these pretended kings, they commit the sovereign authority into the hands of their high-priests at Jerusalem; and after the destruction of that city, to the *Sanhedrim*, or supreme council; which, with the permission of the Romans, they established at Tiberias. The chiefs of it, they say, were called *patriarchs* of *Judea*. They present a list of them, the names in which are not supported by any authentic

First and second centuries.



chronology; and when the legal power disappears by the annihilation of these patriarchs, the Jewish doctors place the power on their synagogues; which indeed contained men of learning and merit, but not kings. It is pretended, that the Jews who escaped massacre under Titus, carried the race of David to Spain.

Under Trajan, the Jews, tired of supporting the Roman yoke, revolted in Lybia, the island of Cyprus, and Mesopotamia. They put to death more than two hundred thousand men; but the cruel reprisals made upon them are supposed to have occasioned the destruction of several millions. Notwithstanding this horrid devastation, a prodigious multitude of zealots assembled, under Antoninus, around an impostor named Barchocheba, or the Sun of the Star, who gave himself out for the Messiah. He had a precursor named Akiba, chief of the fanhedrim, who by his reputation greatly contributed to procure credit to the mission of his messiah. The number of men capable of bearing arms amounted to more than two hundred thousand. He caused himself to be crowned king at Bidher. The banditti of the neighbouring countries flocked to his standards, and increased his army to an alarming size. The messiah massacred Romans and christians, and every Jew who would not acknowledge his authority; but he was at length killed in a breach of his ca-

pital, besieged by Tinnius Rufus, a Roman general. His precursor Akiba was flayed alive with an iron comb. Five hundred and eighty thousand Jews perished by the sword, famine, or misery. Adrian rebuilt the temple of Jerusalem; but not on their account, as they were excluded from it. On the contrary, he endeavoured to render it unclean, by causing idols to be placed in it, and by offering up impure sacrifices. This emperor imagined he could reduce the Jews to submission by oppressing them; but they only burst their chains the sooner. He made them pay a certain tax for permission to behold their holy city even at a distance, to circumcise their children, and to read their sacred books. They remained, however, still more attached to their religion.

They were confirmed in their attachment by the learned men who at that time appeared, and whose works are still in esteem. Judah, surnamed the Holy, who was at the head of the academy of Tiberias, compiled the Misna, a collection of laws, which is the civil and ecclesiastical code of the Jews; and his son Hikel composed a calendar in such a manner that it might not appear that Jesus Christ was the Messiah. The whole attention of the Jews was divided between two objects, the science and the practice of religion. Speculative study produced among them a multitude of sects, who anathematised each other, according to the usual cus-

Third and  
fourth cen-  
turies.

tom. The liberty of practice, which was claimed by these untractable people, hurried them on sometimes to revolt. They were haraffed under Antoninus, hated by Marcus Aurelius, favoured by Severus, made to tremble under Caracalla, in danger under Heliogabalus, consoled by the protection of Alexander Severus, and pretty quiet under the succeeding emperors.

It will not appear astonishing that they should be favoured by Julian the Apostate, in order to mortify the christians. Valens and Valentinian were so cruel as to let loose the hatred of the people against the Jews by unfavourable edicts; but it was repressed by Theodosius I.

Fifth, sixth,  
and seventh  
centuries.

Was the inveterate hatred of all nations against the Jews, which occasioned the shedding of so much blood, owing to any fault of these descendants of Abraham? To their intolerance, pride, or peevishness? Or was it owing to the fault of other nations, prejudiced against an exclusive enthusiasm, the consequence of education and internal conviction? It may be replied, that there were faults on both sides; but the unfortunate Jews, whether the aggressors or attacked, always suffered the punishment. Every year they were accustomed to celebrate their deliverance by Mordecai, the uncle of Esther, and to hang Haman on a gallows. Under Theodosius II. they affixed the image to a cross, which they carried about in procession and then burnt; and



the christians always considered this action as done in derision of Jesus Christ. It sometimes occasioned tumults which ended in massacre and murder. Matters were carried still farther at Alexandria, where the Jews were numerous and exceedingly rich. The protection of Orestes, the governor, had rendered them enterprizing. Cyrill the patriarch put himself at the head of the christians. This quarrel did not end without great cruelties on both sides; and the result on such occasions, was that the property of the synagogues was united to that of the churches, which gave rise to eternal disputes.

The Jews have had flourishing seminaries in Persia, and in that country they have been exposed also to the most violent persecutions. They, however, maintained themselves in a state of opulence, which indeed sometimes brought upon them bad treatment and sometimes procured them respect which they were obliged to purchase. Mahomet entertained for them the utmost contempt, and endeavoured to inspire the same sentiments into his followers. Did the Jews revolt in Palestine and Syria, at Tyre and Cæsarea, because they were oppressed? Or were they oppressed because they revolted? This is a problem difficult to be resolved. An impostor, named Julian, gave himself out in Palestine to be the Messiah, and was followed by a great number of unhappy wretches whom he

milled and who were all exterminated. In Spain and in France they experienced the double misfortune of being anathematized by the councils and persecuted by the sovereigns. They possessed at Arles a great deal of power, which they abused, and were expelled from Provence and Languedoc. Imprisonment, extortion, and banishment, were oftener employed against them in these countries than any other severities or death. A cruel favour, since the innocent wife and children were punished, like the criminal husband, by the most dreadful poverty and distress.

Eighth,  
ninth, tenth,  
and eleventh  
centuries.

It appears that the Jews were esteemed by many of the caliphs, who kept them at their court as physicians, astrologers, and men of letters. This favour was extended to the whole nation. These princes entrusted them with the management of their revenues, and found it advantageous to their interest: but the people, harassed by these financiers, did not much applaud their choice; and their murmurs often authorized the princes to squeeze these sponges to the benefit of their treasuries. As if exile and banishment had not been sufficient to ruin them, to these were added the false zeal of voluntary desertion. A Jew named Serenus persuaded his brethren in Spain that he was the Messiah, and exhorted them to follow him to Judea. They accordingly quitted their possessions, which were

immediately occupied by their neighbours. The Messiah, however, disappeared; and this deluded multitude perished by the way. They are accused of having invited the Arabs into Languedoc as well as of having favoured the invasion of the Normans in Italy, and these prejudices excited many enemies against them in that part of Europe, while they were multiplying in Asia. There were reckoned to be nine hundred thousand of them in one town of Syria under the dominion of the Persians. The arts and the sciences flourished among them; but while they enjoyed peace from without, they were agitated at home by civil dissensions. Different sects, hostile to each other, were engaged in continual broils. In Spain they had violent disputes on account of a translation of the Talmud, a book full of traditions, which contains useful things intermixed with a great many fables. Some evil-disposed person in that kingdom thought proper to confound them with the Saracens; and for that reason they were every-where treated as enemies. This persecution, which was extremely bloody, extended itself to France. Its fury was sometimes softened by the merit of a few rabbis. In Egypt they triumphed, and were humbled; were expelled, and recalled. These alternations, too common, carried them from one end of the world to the other, always maltreated, and always exposed to destruction.



Twelfth  
century.

In the twelfth century we find a great many of them in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and the Euphrates—in the cities by which their banks were adorned—at Bagdad, Cufa, and throughout all Affyria, places where their fathers had once groaned in captivity, and where their children were exposed to a fate not much more favourable. In Egypt they had experienced terrible vicissitudes. A much greater number of them, it is said, were massacred there at one time than ever went forth under Moses. They retired thither in detachments, when expelled from other countries, and formed populous colonies. It is not astonishing that they should have been very numerous at Jerusalem and Tyre, in Judea, and in all Galilee. From these coasts they sailed to Greece, and went in crowds to Constantinople, from which they inundated Italy, at Rome, Capua, and Milan; and proceeded thence to France, where they became united on the side of Spain with those of Africa; and on the other penetrated to Germany and England. Their synagogues then had a communication with each other; and thence arose an emulation in study, which tended to diffuse the sciences.

But the great men who flourished among them did not prevent various impostors from imposing on the credulity of the populace. There were no less than nine or ten false messiahs in the east and west. In France, Charles the Fair, on

account of a false messiah, caused all the synagogues to be destroyed. In Persia, the sophi gave to a false messiah, who had taken up arms, a sum of money, which he demanded for putting an end to the war. In Spain, two impostors excited an insurrection, and exposed the whole nation to severe treatment. In Arabia, another boasted that he could perform miracles, and asserted, that if beheaded, he would again come to life. He was taken at his word; but he never revived, and the Jews were condemned to pay a heavy fine, as a punishment for their credulity. The latter, indeed, was so great, that they honoured as the Messiah a leper, a kind of men who in their eyes are abominable. They followed the traces of another, who appeared and disappeared in Moravia; and who ascribed to himself the power of becoming invisible. The nation was obliged to produce him; and notwithstanding his invisibility, he was seized. A similar circumstance took place in Persia. In both countries the Jews were made to pay dearly for the uneasiness occasioned to the sovereigns by their propensity to become the dupes of imposture. If we add the oppression of every kind to which they were exposed, by the fanaticism of the crusaders, and the blind zeal of the populace, who accused them of crucifying children, and of poisoning the wells, fountains, and

rivers, we shall find reason to be astonished that their race is not now extinct.

Thirteenth  
and four-  
teenth cen-  
turies.

These horrid insinuations thrown out against them in the preceding centuries, assumed an air of truth in the thirteenth; and though the least reflexion might have shewn that these crimes, if they really took place, could be imputed only to a few profligates, the whole nation was made responsible for them. The horror which the Jews inspired was general; and their names, when they occurred in the page of history, public deeds, and police regulations, were always accompanied with the most insulting epithets. The axe was continually suspended over their heads; scaffolds were erected before their eyes, and fires were ready kindled to consume them. But at the time when they were treated so cruelly in Europe, they were suffered to take breath in Judea. From the Mamalukes in Egypt they experienced neither persecution nor favour. The Tartars received them as physicians, astrologers, and men thoroughly acquainted with commerce. The Greeks suffered them to live in tranquillity among them; and even condemned the harsh treatment which they experienced in other countries.

In general, the Jews endured with less impatience the oppression they suffered than the excessive zeal of those who attempted to convert



them. Christians who would not have receded one step from their own law, endeavoured to make the Jews advance with giant-strides in the principles which they preached up to them. They compelled them to send their children to christian schools; to hear sermons, and to read dogmatic books. One of these works, written by an ecclesiastic, was entitled the *Poniard of the Faith*: a title extremely engaging for the proselytes whom they wished to attract. The alternative of being killed or believing was often employed. The Jews enumerate the names of many who became martyrs on this occasion. Those who suffer always imagine they shall gain by a change. Under a long series of the kings of France they were always proscribed and harassed. On the other hand, they were favoured by the popes at Avignon; that is to say, the former took their money by force, the latter made them pay for tranquillity. The English expelled them from their island. A fire having broke out at Frankfort, they were accused of being the incendiaries. They were burnt there as well as at Nuremberg. In the Palatinate they were hunted down like wild beasts, because one old woman had said that they asked her to procure them a child to crucify; and another, that they had desired the host that they might profane it. All Germany expelled them from its bosom.

“ Fly,” said the emperor Winceſſas to them in one of the reſcripts, “ or, be converted.”

Fifteenth,  
ſixteenth,  
and ſeven-  
teenth cen-  
turies.

Even this cruel alternative was not always propoſed to them. The quality of Jew alone often carried with it proſcription, without mitigation or exception. Of this we have a fatal inſtance in Spain. Ferdinand and Iſabella expelled them from their ſtates to the number of eight hundred thouſand. This emigration is one of the moſt melancholy mentioned in hiſtory. Scarcely were they allowed a few months to diſpoſe of their property. They were obliged to ſell their lands and furniture, as well as every thing they poſſeſſed, at whatever price they could get. They embarked for Africa; but ſeveral of the veſſels were wrecked; and others taking fire were conſumed in the open ſea with their whole cargoes. Few of them arrived in a ſafe port. When they landed, theſe unfortunate wretches were rejected by the inhabitants, who feared that ſuch a multitude might occaſion a famine. Flying from this inhospitable land, they penetrated into the deſert wilds of Africa, where they perished, either overwhelmed by the ſands, or torn to pieces by the wild beaſts. This is the laſt calamity they experienced as a national body: but of partial exile, baniſhment, and proſcription, there are innumerable inſtances, which have continued to the

present period. To the present period! This expression denotes that they exist still. An existence next to a miracle. After so many misfortunes, which have destroyed nations far more flourishing, they exist in great numbers, and in all countries. They are found in the principal cities of Asia and Europe. They apply much to commerce, with no branch of which they are unacquainted. They can accomodate themselves also without scruple to every mode of carrying it on. An article purchased by a Jew is conveyed from hand to hand to the extremity of the world, nor can any traces of its passage be discovered. When allowed to possess land, they employ themselves in agriculture. Though mixed with the inhabitants of all countries, they have never been incorporated among them. Their religious ceremonies, their prohibition to eat certain kinds of food, their festivals, their fasts, their legal abstinences, and their marriages confined to their own tribes, separate from all other people this astonishing nation, deprived of authority throughout the whole world, and yet the only one which, by known places of settlement, can shew traces of its claim to every point of the habitable globe.



## AFRICA.

Africa, between the Red Sea, the Indian Sea, the African Ocean, and the Mediterranean.

Africa, to which the Romans gave the epithet of *monstrorum ferax*, too much justifies that qualification, whether we understand it as applied to savage and carnivorous animals, to men equally ferocious, or merely to monstrosities in regard to the manners and prejudices of the inhabitants. It is a peninsula connected with Asia only by a tongue of land, about thirty leagues in breadth, between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The interior part of this vast country is little known, for two reasons: first; travelling there is attended with great difficulties, because the inhabitants, who are exceedingly mistrustful of the Europeans, whom they consider as leagued together in a design to get possession of the gold mines, which form their principal riches, will not permit them to penetrate to any distance from the coast: secondly; the obstinacy of the natives to observe silence with regard to their country is invincible. Even the slaves who are carried from it cannot be induced by promises, caresses, threats, or severity, to communicate any information respecting it; or if they open their mouths, it is only to deceive, and never to give a real account of their religion, their customs, and their commerce; or of any thing that might prove interesting, or even gratify curio-

sity. For the little, therefore, which is known of it we are indebted to the relations of a few missionaries, who escaped the ferocity of the natives, or withstood the severity of the climate and the fatigue of travelling in those inhospitable regions. Its shores on the Mediterranean were frequented by the Phœnicians, who seem also to have passed through the Strait of Gibraltar. Those on the ocean were known to the Persians; but it is doubtful whether they ever proceeded so far as the Cape of Good Hope. It was reserved for the Portuguese to give us an accurate and minute knowledge of the coasts to the east and west of the Cape, which they did in proportion as their voyages to India afforded them an opportunity of extending or rectifying their observations.

Africa is shaped like a pyramid, the base of which rests on the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Nile to the Strait of Gibraltar. It is fourteen hundred leagues in extent from north to south, and fifteen hundred from east to west. Two thirds of it are situated within the torrid zone. It is not the heat, however, which prevents that part from being as populous as the rest, but the barrenness of the soil, the scarcity of water, the bad quality of that necessary article, and the pestilential vapours which arise from lakes formed by the excessive rains, which being covered with reeds, and never agitated by

Productions  
and habita-  
tions.

the wind, become putrid. Owing to these different causes, some countries are destitute of inhabitants; while the neighbouring ones, which are equally exposed to the vertical rays of the sun, have an abundant population. Africa is divided into four parts: first, the country of the whites, which comprehends Egypt, Numidia, and Zaara, or the desert; secondly, the country of the blacks, viz. Nigritia, Guinea, and Nubia; thirdly, Ethiopia, Upper and Lower Abyssinia, the states on the borders of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, with the immense regions in the interior part behind these coasts; fourthly, the islands which surround it in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the ocean.

Negroes.

A very bad character is given, in general, to the Africans, whether Moors, Arabs, or Negroes. They are, it is said, brutal, ignorant, lazy, treacherous, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious. St. Augustin, who was an African, said that it was as difficult for an African not to be inclined to incontinence as for a person born in Africa not to be an African. There is a common proverb also which says, that all people of the earth, the Africans excepted, have some good mixed with their bad qualities. These odious imputations ought to be applied chiefly to the Negroes or Caffres; next to the Moors or old tawny inhabitants; and much less to the



Arabs who dispersed themselves throughout Africa about the middle of the seventh century, and who now form a great part of its population. The marabouts, who are the priests of the country, have invented a singular fable to explain the difference between the white, tawny, and black men, in regard to fortune and riches.

After the death of Noah, say they, his three sons, one of whom was white, the second tawny, and the third black, agreed to divide his property, which consisted of gold and silver, precious stones, ivory, vestments of silk, linen and wool, horses, camels, dromedaries, cattle, sheep and goats, arms, furniture, corn and other provisions, besides tobacco and pipes. Having spent the greater part of the day in assorting these different articles, the three heirs were obliged to defer the partition till the next morning. They therefore supped, smoked a friendly pipe together, and then retired to rest, each in his own tent. After some hours' sleep the white brother, awakened by avarice, arose, seized the gold and silver, together with the precious stones and most beautiful vestments, and having loaded the best camels with them pursued his way to that country which his white posterity have ever since inhabited. The Moor, or tawny, awaking afterwards with the same intention, and being surprized that he had been anticipated by his brother, secured in great haste the remainder of

the horses, oxen, and camels, and retired to another part of the world, leaving only some coarse vestments, cotton, pipes and tobacco, millet, rice, and other things of less value. This last lot fell to the share of the black, the laziest of the three brothers, who took up his pipe with a melancholy air, and while he sat smoking in a pensive mood swore to be revenged. These indeed are the ruling passions of the negroes: to smoke, to do nothing, to remain in a thoughtful posture, and to gratify their revenge.

They have no natural inclination but brutality: no affection for their wives and children, whom they sell. They are drunkards, lascivious, cruel, and perfidious; in a word, destitute of principles and under no restraint. They never think, and, like the animals, always act without reflexion, according to the impulse of the moment. Their children are born white except the parts of sex, and a small black circle around the nails. Their beautiful black colour is effaced by disease, and according to the degree of the malady is degraded into a dismal paleness. After death they become exceedingly black. When they happen to be wounded the scar remains white: in general, the soles of their feet are of the same colour. It is not true that they become white by remaining long in a climate which is little exposed to the heat of the sun. Their blackness is not lessened but by a

succession and mixture of races; after transmutations, the number of which it has never yet been possible to determine, because the success of them depends on the greater or less strength of the individual; but the blackness is at length so entirely effaced that no traces of it remain.

Besides paying adoration to the sun, the moon, the stars, and to fire, the negroes practise the most stupid and ridiculous idolatry in regard to trees, plants, mountains, rivers, and even vile insects, which they in some measure worship as a kind of inferior deities or imaginary beings, who, according to their priests, have an influence in all the affairs of life, health and sickness, death and nativity, and every event fortunate or unfortunate. Such superstition, however, is far more excusable than the total want of religion and hatred against it which are observed among the Imbiges, a race of barbarous and impious monsters, who inhabit a country near that of the Hottentots. These people are avowed enemies of the human race, and even of heaven, against which they discharge their impotent arrows with horrid imprecations when they experience any misfortune. They devour their slaves and prisoners of war, whom they roast alive.

There are Jews established in some parts of Africa. Christianity is the religion of Abyssinia, but it is much disfigured. Mahometanism may be considered as the prevailing religion, because it is

Religion.



followed by the Moors, Arabs, and a great part of the negroes. As the Arabs are impatient of all restraint, the religion of Mahomet among them has become altogether sensual: they have banished all those austerities with which it was burthened by its founder;—abstinence from wine and pork, fasting, frequent prayer, and ablutions. A good mussulman would not be able to distinguish his religion through pagan superstitions, which are observed with more care than the precepts of the Koran. This mutilated mahometanism prevails even in the states of Barbary, tributary to the grand-seignior, and in those which belong to him in Egypt and along the shores of the Red Sea.

Marabouts.

These places also abound with the Marabouts, a kind of priests or saints much feared and venerated by all the Africans, and even by the negroes. They are divided into three classes. The first reside in the cities, towns, and villages; the second wander about without any fixed habitation; and the third frequent the thick forests and the most arid deserts. All of them, however, under the cloke of austerity indulge in the greatest irregularities. The basis of their belief is, that the heavens, the stars, and the elements, have in them something divine; so that no religion can be erroneous. They pretend that by fasting and abstinence men may elevate themselves to the nature of angels; and

that being thus purified from every vicious affection, it will be impossible afterwards to sin. This is the doctrine of Spinosa and the Molinists. The marabous display in their conduct all that depravity of the mind and heart which these two systems must produce.

They are much dreaded even by the princes, on account of the empire which superstition gives them over the people. Travellers are never better guarded than when they have one of them as their conductor. Robbers and plunderers, whether Arabs, Moors, or Negroes, never dare to insult, or even treat with incivility, a stranger who is under such protection. It appears that they are connected together by a certain bond of correspondence and subordination, like a religious body ; and that they form a kind of republic, the capital of which is on the Niger. Some of them use circumcision, and others baptism. In general, they adopt all the practices of the people among whom they reside. This condescension procures them great confidence ; and sanctifies in the eyes of their followers the shameful excesses to which they abandon themselves. No beings can be more ridiculously proud, and more ignorant than the marabous, unless it be those stupid people who listen to them. The Africans think it below them to learn any thing from the Europeans ; contemptible foreigners, as they call them, con-

frained by misery to quit their native land, and to wander to the extremities of the globe, that they may carry back from their fortunate country the most valuable articles they possess. But, however wretched they may be in other respects, they enjoy this happiness, that they consider themselves as the most fortunate of mankind; and their own country, even in those parts which are barren and unhealthful, as the finest in the world.

Africa, indeed, produces abundance of gold, the collecting of which is not attended either with the same labour or the same danger as that of Mexico or Peru. It is found in those districts which produce it at the distance of five or six feet below the surface of the earth; and the rivers sweep down large quantities, which require only to be washed and separated from the mud. The facility with which the negroes can obtain, in exchange for this metal, the few necessaries they stand in need of, renders them exceedingly lazy and indifferent in regard to manufactures and the mechanical arts. The men, in general, spend the greater part of their time in drinking, smoking, and sleep. The women are burthened with all the labour of their domestic economy—sowing, planting, and reaping; while their husbands with great composure behold them exposed to a scorching sun, engaged in toil from morning to night, with a child on their back,



and no other nourishment than a little meal moistened with water. It never so much as enters the mind of these indolent drones to assist their oppressed females to pound the millet, which supplies the whole family with daily food.

The inhabitants of the sea-coast are, however, a little more industrious. The desire of gain induces them to search for those things which may be suitable to foreigners, and to take some trouble to find them. Next to gold, their most valuable article is gum, with which they carry on a great trade. It serves them also as a kind of food, which they find wholesome and agreeable. Their trade is exceedingly advantageous to the Europeans, because they give in exchange articles only of small value;—abundance of toys, mercery goods of the most inferior quality, domestic utensils, coarse stuffs of various colours, trinkets for female ornaments, such as small mirrors, bells, and a thousand other trifles, which the negroes admire, and, like children, contemplate for whole days when they have them in their possession: but above all, spirituous liquors, of which they are so passionately fond that they even sometimes sell themselves to obtain them.

The Moors, descended from the inhabitants of the ancient Mauritania, are the original natives of the country. The Arabs are the children of the Saracens, who inundated Africa in

Moors, Saracens, and Arabs.

the seventh century. These two nations have been confounded in such a manner that, though some shades of difference may be still perceived, they can scarcely be distinguished by foreigners. There are more Moors who live like Arabs, than Arabs who imitate the Moors. The Arabs have rendered their language prevalent throughout the whole peninsula, as well as their religion, which is the mahometan. As in Arabia, they are divided into tribes, which rarely intermix with each other; those in towns are less scrupulous in this respect, but those who remain fixed in one spot, where they form a kind of village, or who encamp in itinerant hordes, have retained much better the customs of their ancestors. The men confine themselves to the care of the cattle: the interior part of their domestic economy is managed by the women, who are loved and respected by their husbands, but who are exceedingly reserved, and remain as it were invisible in their tents and waggons. This obligation is imposed on them by the jealousy of the men. Adultery is severely punished, and polygamy allowed. The whole family reside, if possible, in the same hut, where a place is always reserved for the horse, the favourite animal of the Arabs. They carefully preserve the genealogy of their horses; and the foals are reared together with their children: they generally serve them as pillows when they lie down to re-

pose. Their masters load them with kisses and caresses, which these animals court, and with which they appear to be highly gratified.

There is very little difference between the manners of the African Arabs, and those of the Arabs in their own country, already described. They are, in general, hospitable, brave, and capable of enduring fatigue. I shall therefore take notice of only a few particular usages. The women paint various figures on their foreheads, cheeks, arms, thighs, &c. and as they fade or become effaced, those who have not the means of renewing them, render them permanent by puncturing the skin. In some tribes the husband and wife on their wedding-day put on each a shirt, which they must never throw aside till it drops off in rags. They never pay attention to any thing for the purpose of acquiring knowledge; but listen or gaze through curiosity. Their medicine consists of a few recipes preserved by tradition, which they employ habitually, and without discrimination; but they are skilful in topics, and well seconded by nature, which supplies them with a variety of strong and powerful plants: they are acquainted also with cupping; and inoculation for the small-pox is in general use among them. The variolous matter must be purchased with confections and fruit, or procured in exchange for these articles, else it is considered as ineffectual.



The chiefs of the wandering Arabs are called sheiks, an appellation which signifies old doctor, or master. Some of them are elected, others hold their offices by hereditary right. The business of these chiefs is to govern their petty republics, to adjust the differences which arise between individuals, and to maintain peace and happiness. A collection of several families, who form a tribe, is distinguished by the name of *douwar*: the sheiks of each *douwar* are subject to another more exalted in dignity, called emir, a title equivalent to that of prince. In this manner small kingdoms are formed. The emir appoints the encampments and military expeditions, divides the plunder, and fixes the value of the tribute which is paid to more powerful princes, such as the dey of Algiers, as well as that which is paid to himself, and which he is often obliged to levy by force. When the *douwars* find themselves too much burthened they remove to the desert, and carry with them the contribution, which it is difficult then to collect.

Their arms are bows and arrows, sabres, and, in particular, lances or pikes, which they employ in a very dangerous manner, especially when retreating. They make little use of fire-arms, because they are unacquainted with the art of keeping them in repair. Their cavalry are exceedingly active and alert. The intelligence of

their horses, and their ready obedience to perform every movement which the rider desires, are worthy of admiration. Such formerly were the Numidians. The Arabs, in their douwars, possess all the simplicity of primitive manners. The sheik himself goes and takes a lamb from his flock, kills it, and prepares it for the table, while his wife makes ready the fire and the seasoning. They never spend their time in conversation, in walking, or amusing themselves with their children or domestics; when they have nothing to do they smoke. A certain number of douwars are sometimes collected together; and on such occasions they hold a festival, that is to say, indulge in good cheer. They assemble also for marriages. The intended husband must pay a sum of money before he is allowed to see the young woman who is destined to be his spouse. If she does not please his taste he may send her back; but in that case he loses every thing he has given to her relations. It is of advantage, therefore, to have ugly daughters. Funerals are accompanied with loud cries, tears, and lamentations; in a word, with all those noisy expressions of grief which are not always a proof of a heart affected with deep sorrow.

The journeys of the Moors and Arabs of the Journeys. sea coasts, when they go in quest of gold, are performed across seven hundred leagues of a desert, called the Sea of Sand, on account of the

lightness of the sand, which is sometimes raised by tempests in such a manner as to bury the hapless traveller. For the space of two hundred leagues no water is found but in two places. It must be drawn from wells of a great depth, which are often choked up with sand; and the water after it has been procured with much labour and difficulty is brackish and so disagreeable that the camels, the only beasts of burthen employed for these journeys, are disgusted with it before their thirst is quenched. If the travellers are so unfortunate as to miss this wretched resource, either by passing the wells or not being able to find them, they are reduced to the most dreadful extremities. The merchants, therefore, who surmount these difficulties, when they arrive in the districts which produce the gold, if they find themselves sufficiently strong, do not purchase it, but take it by force; and the owners consider themselves highly fortunate if a few trifles are left them in exchange.

Animals.

Hunting in Africa is conducted in the same manner as in Tartary, by forming a circle at a distance, which the hunters contract by gradually approaching each other: but in such enclosures there are found a greater number of ferocious animals than in Tartary;—lions, tigers, leopards, and panthers, rendered still more savage by the heat of the climate and the scarcity of water. By a fortunate superstition the Africans consider



a dead elephant as impure ; and for that reason never kill these noble animals, which prevents their entire destruction. As the rhinoceros is not spared, it has become as scarce as the elephant is common. Among the indigenous animals is reckoned the giraffe, which is of a large size, and in figure somewhat like a deer ; but its fore legs are much longer than those behind : and the *lampt*, which has some resemblance to an ox, but is savage and fierce, and which rushes forth from the thickets with the impetuosity of the wild boar. In these immense plains the African hunts even the winged tribe, and pursues the ostrich : he also often finds new animals before unknown.

He has all our domestic animals ; and besides these, apes, equally mischievous as in other countries, but useful for destroying the ants which they eat. Serpents, which are here very common, are of all sizes, from a bulk almost incredible to the delicate fineness of a needle ; and the latter, as they every-where find a passage, are not the least dangerous. The chameleon frees the earth from insects. Its eyes possess a property highly advantageous to a hunter, as it can direct them to two different objects, below or above, behind or before. The seas and the rivers teem with fish, but the former are infested by sharks, and the latter by crocodiles. The coasts abound with the lamentein, a kind of sea-cow, the flesh of which

is excellent. To its riches in gold, Africa adds pearls and ambergris, crystal and saltpetre. It contains large rivers, but few mountains in the interior parts; and the few it has are naked and thinly covered with wood. The capes, on the Mediterranean, are exceedingly high, and the bottom is muddy; but on the ocean the water near the shore is of considerable depth.

Christians.

The most beautiful districts of Africa, on the Mediterranean, afforded formerly, as is well known, an asylum to many of the Romans during the civil wars, and particularly in the time of their proscriptions. They founded cities in these countries, and embellished those which had been built before. This part of the Roman empire became very flourishing under the governors sent thither by the emperors. One of them, count Boniface, who in the fifth century was on the point of being recalled by a court intrigue, invited the Vandals from Spain, in order to maintain himself in his office. These Vandals landed there under Genseric, and founded an empire, which though at first very powerful and formidable even to Rome itself, continued only under six monarchs. The reign of these princes, who were arians, is celebrated by their persecution of the catholics. Whether owing to the zeal of sectaries, or a persuasion that, as catholicism attached the people to the Roman empire, their authority would never be properly

established but by the destruction of that religion, there were no means which the Vandal princes did not employ to destroy it and to substitute arianism in its stead.

All the orthodox were proscribed and obliged to shut their churches, the most beautiful of which were given to the arians : the rest were converted to profane and even to vile purposes. A great many of them were demolished, especially those the architecture of which was Roman; and they were rebuilt, or new ones erected in other places, entirely in the Gothic style. The Vandal kings successively stripped the bishops and all the ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, of their dignities and revenues. They pillaged the cathedrals, monasteries, and chapels, by carrying away the vases and sacred ornaments ; and they issued orders for seizing and burning the missals, breviaries, and homilies, with all the other books which belonged to the churches. The personal violence to which individuals were exposed was dreadful. It may give some idea of it to observe, that the execution of it was entrusted not only to arians, but even to idolatrous African priests, who had been long incensed against the orthodox clergy, as they lessened their power by making converts. Banishment was the principal severity employed in this persecution;—but banishment to frightful deserts, to which the unhappy victims were



driven like herds of cattle, without pity for the old and infirm; and where they were abandoned without resources, and without provisions. The historians of this persecution consider it as a just punishment of Heaven for the licentiousness of manners which prevailed among the clergy, as well as among the people. "While they pretended to maintain the purity of the faith," say these writers, "they were real idolaters by their conduct."

After a hundred and seventeen years, Africa was freed from the yoke of the Vandals by Belisarius. Under the generals and prefects sent thither by the Greek emperors, catholicism, which had always supported itself, though in a state of obscurity, resumed its former splendour; the churches were opened; its riches were restored, and arianism was banished from the country. The Moors, who beheld this revival not without envy, fell upon the catholics; but the latter were defended by the Greek emperors, who made great efforts to preserve this bright ornament of their crown. These wars weakened both parties, and paved the way for an easy conquest to the Saracens when they entered Africa. They extended their conquests with the utmost rapidity; and founded an empire, the chiefs of which assumed the name of the Salimite caliphs. After four reigns, these caliphs transferred their power and their title to

Egypt. On their departure, the glory of their empire vanished. From Egypt to the Strait of Gibraltar, the country, harassed by intestine war among the petty princes by whom it was occupied, and by the destructive attacks of the Spaniards and other powers of Europe, has at length become the domain and retreat of a horde of pirates.

## EGYPT.

But what has become of Egypt? Can it be discovered in the picture given of it by travellers, who represent the country as depopulated and reduced to a state of sterility; its towns as constructed of ruins; its magnificent edifices converted into miserable hovels; its soil covered with the fragments of ancient columns, dispersed over its surface, as places destined for sepulture are sometimes covered by dry and withered bones? How happens it that a country which formerly supplied food to twenty millions of inhabitants, and which spared some besides for exportation, should at present be scarcely able to maintain two millions? The reason, according to some authors is, that nature here is exhausted. It may, however, be observed, that if there be any deficiency, it is not in nature but of men to render the earth productive by industry and cultivation. At present, Egypt contains scarcely a tenth part of the inhabitants by whom it was

formerly cultivated. They are the Copts, supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. Their condition under the Turkish government is abject and wretched; they are christians, but exceedingly ignorant. It is believed that the language of their liturgy is the ancient vulgar Egyptian. Though read by their priests, they do not understand it. The other inhabitants, particularly of Upper Egypt, are Arabs, who live in douwars, like the Africans, under the command of a sheik.

Government

Would it be prejudice or calumny to ascribe the sterility of the fields, the ruinous state of the cities, and the misery of the people, to the Ottoman government? In regard to the people, it is entirely military, and absolutely despotic. The pacha appointed to govern this province, the most lucrative place in the empire, is receiver-general for the Porte. On paying a stipulated sum, which he transmits every year to the grand-seignior, together with provisions, articles of dress, spices, trinkets for the seraglio, presents for the sultans and the ministers, and pay for the militia, he is allowed to keep the rest, without being called to any account. He must make his fortune in three years, the ordinary term of his power; the patent for which is, however, renewed every year, in order that the grand-seignior, besides the other charges, may receive an annual perquisite; and the pacha, to indemnify



himself, disposes of every thing for money. The plague, if I may use the expression, is his Peru. During the time it prevails, which is about three months in the year, he is continually selling and transferring from hand to hand the national domains, by which he acquires immense sums. Some of these domains return to him twice or thrice in the course of a little time, by the rapid decease of the possessors.

The authority of the governor is moderated by a divan or council, composed of twenty-four beys, whom he appoints and displaces at pleasure. This check therefore is not very inconvenient to him, especially as he has it in his power to confer upon them lucrative offices, which is another inducement for them to comply with his wishes. In no other part of the empire are the Turkish militia so insolent as in Egypt. As the pacha has occasion for janissaries to levy the taxes, and sometimes to oppose the beys, he allows them indulgences which are inconsistent with the safety of the inhabitants. Foreign merchants, Europeans as well as others, are exposed here to oppression, which they cannot prevent but by the payment of money. Owing to all these obstacles, this fine country, which might, and ought to be the centre of the commerce of the world, languishes in a state of ruinous inactivity.

The Arabs not only plunder the other inhabi-

tants, but do not even spare each other. The beys do, in the provinces, what is done by the pacha and his officers in the towns. Instead of restraining plunderers, they receive from them a certain tribute. A multitude of slaves are brought from every part of Africa to Egypt, and thence distributed throughout all Asia: it is the greatest mart for the sale of human beings in the whole world. The arts, which flourished so much here formerly, are in a state of total decline. The Egyptians still retain something of the fondness which their ancestors had for sepulchral monuments. The ancients made them grand and magnificent; the moderns make them agreeable, and ornament them with pavilions, under which they can enjoy the cool air, and with pompous inscriptions. There are distinct kinds for each sex, and for slaves. The sciences in Egypt do not deserve to be mentioned. After the caliphs, the taste for knowledge decayed under the Mamalukes; and under the Turks it has become totally extinct.

There are only three or four places in Egypt in which garrisons are kept. Cairo, the capital, and the residence of the pacha, is the theatre of his grandeur, and of the luxury of the beys. They pretend, that the magnificence of their divan surpasses that of the grand-seignior. The castle, which is pretty well furnished with cannon, could make but a feeble defense, because

it is commanded by the adjacent heights. Its principal use is to overawe the town ; which, as it contains a great many people, and particularly of the lower classes, has need of a check. Cairo is badly situated amidst sand ; the houses are ill built, and the streets are crooked and dirty. It is the centre of the trade of the Red Sea with Alexandria and Rosetta. The former contains nothing of its ancient splendour, except ruins : but its harbour is still excellent. The latter stands in a pleasant and agreeable situation. Suez, which marks out the extremity of that line of commerce, extending from the bottom of the Red Sea to the ports of the Mediterranean, is most unfavourably situated on a parched sandy coast, destitute of water and provisions ; but it abounds with every thing, because it is kept alive by commerce. There is still seen, at the distance of two leagues from the town, a deep ditch, supposed to be the commencement of the canal, projected more than once by the kings of Egypt and the Roman emperors, in order to form a junction of the two seas.

The Coptic church consists of a patriarch, <sup>Copts.</sup> who is elected at Cairo, and resides at Alexandria, of which he is metropolitan ; and of a hundred and forty bishops, his suffragans in Egypt, Syria, Nubia, and Abyssinia. It has also all the hierarchical degrees found in the Greek and Roman churches. The Copts follow the doc-



trine of Eutychius, who admitted only one nature in Jesus Christ. They have adopted several of the Jewish ceremonies ; and they observe them with as much, if not more, strictness and zeal than the most essential rites of christianity, as is proved by their circumcision and baptism. They consider the former as so necessary that they extend it to both sexes. Boys are not baptized till the end of forty days, and girls till the end of eighty. In this they adhere to the time prescribed by the law of Moses for the purification of the mothers, who must assist at the ceremony. A celebrated catholic doctor has proved that they entertain an orthodox faith respecting the real presence. They practise confession ; but merely as simple accusation, without any reflexions, and always followed by absolution. Marriages are performed before the priest, and by his administration. They are much addicted to fasting. They have a lent of fifty days before easter ; another of forty-three before christmas, and many vigils, on which fasting are necessary also. During their long fasts they eat neither fish, eggs, flesh, butter, nor oil ; drink nothing but water ; take only one meal a little before sunset, and oblige sick persons and children above ten years of age to submit to the same regulations. Marriage among them is not indissoluble ; they are acquainted with divorce, and by a custom peculiar to themselves the wo-

men may sue for it. The followers of the Greek church are also very numerous in Egypt; but it is less favoured by the Turks than the Coptic: these two churches entertain a mortal hatred to each other. The catholic missionaries endeavour to reconcile them by making converts; but their attempts have been attended with very little success.

The celebrated caravan of Mecca sets out Caravan. from Cairo, where a multitude of pilgrims assemble from Turkey in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The number of the persons who compose it is said to be not less than forty thousand. A hundred days are employed in this journey; and they are obliged to carry with them a supply of provisions for the whole time. The poor are assisted by the rich. The emir hadgi, or chief of the pilgrims, is generally a bey, on whom the pacha, as a mark of favour, confers that employment, which is exceedingly lucrative. He has a body of troops under his command to serve as an escort, and the power of life and death as long as the journey lasts. The departure of the caravan from Cairo is accompanied with festivals and rejoicing: it is joined by several smaller ones on the road, so that before it reaches Mecca it is sometimes increased to double its original number. This immense multitude is composed of two classes. Devotees who undertake the pilgrimage through pure zeal and religion, and

merchants who embrace that opportunity to carry on their trade. Both these, on their return, are honoured with the titles of hadgi pilgrim, which serves as a proper name—Hadgi Mahomet, Hadgi Mustapha—and enjoy certain honourable and advantageous privileges which are attached to them; such as that of having the first place at public ceremonies, and of being almost always exempted from corporal punishment, which is as common in Africa as in Asia.

Moez, 950.

Egypt, having escaped from the Roman emperors, in the reign of Heraclius fell under the jurisdiction of the caliphs of Bagdad, or the caliphs of the family of the Abassides. The power, however, which they enjoyed there was not very great. The commanders of the troops indeed, to whom force and the right of war gave authority, were desirous of shewing that they possessed it only by the consent of the Abasside caliphs, and the names of the latter were mentioned in the public prayers, which seemed to indicate a sort of sovereignty; but at that time there arose in Africa a rival caliphate under the name of the Fatimite. The princes who assumed this title extended their power even to Spain; and the fourth of them, named Moez, being informed of the disagreement which prevailed among the princes who had made a partition of Egypt, sent thither a strong army under the command of an able general named Granhar,



who conquered for him that fine kingdom. After this event he transported thither all his treasures, and even the ashes of his ancestors, in order to shew that he renounced for ever his other possessions in Africa.

Moez was no sooner installed than he caused the name of the caliph of Bagdad to be erased from the prayers, and his own to be inserted in its stead. This deprived the latter of the little influence he enjoyed in Egypt; but not without remonstrances on his part, which, however, were always ineffectual. The magnificence of these new caliphs is much extolled: it was suited to their immense wealth, and they constructed superb edifices, such as mosques, colleges, and hospitals; being more desirous to erect new buildings than to repair the old, the preservation of which might have procured them as much honour. These princes shewed themselves readily to their subjects, not only during splendid ceremonies, but also to administer justice daily in person. After the time of Moez, the ceremony on taking possession of the throne was exceedingly pompous. The cavalcade which attended them to the mosque, to return thanks and render homage for their crown to the supreme Being, attended them also to the tomb of their ancestors, where they were reminded, in a striking manner, that every thing in life is of a transitory nature. This ceremony was certainly

as instructive as that of burning flax before the popes.

Moez died at the age of forty-five, after having reigned twenty-one years in Africa, and forty at Cairo, which he founded. He had not that firm belief respecting his descent from Fatima by Ali, and consequently respecting his right to the caliphat, with which he wished to inspire others; but he avoided, on that subject, all disputes and every explanation. Being one day at the head of his troops, whom he was reviewing, an individual of the family, perhaps of the Abassides, with a design to disconcert him, asked of what race he was descended. Moez immediately replied, pointing to his troops and the sword which he wore; "These are my race and my genealogy."

Aziz, 957.

He was succeeded by his son Aziz, whose mild and humane government procured him universal affection; but his good qualities were perhaps the cause of the troubles which broke out in his court. He was averse to punishment; and his clemency was abused. It appears that he was very indifferent in regard to the religion of those whom he employed. His secretary was a christian, and his treasurer a Jew. He even espoused a christian. This caliph was engaged in several wars, which were not always successful; but he never carried them on in person. Giauhar, the conqueror of Egypt, a second Belisarius,

because beat in Syria, was disgraced and deprived of all his riches. Aziz reigned twenty-one years, and lived forty.

Many of the actions of his successors have been related already. The reader will recollect the hatred and licentiousness of Alakem; the efforts he made to abolish mahometanism, and to substitute in its stead a religion, the sensuality of which knew no bounds; and his aversion to women, whom he wished not only to interdict from quitting their houses, but even, if possible, from using their feet, by prohibiting shoes to be made for them. His sister avenged her sex, by causing him to be assassinated. Taher his son, a wise and prudent prince, formed a perfect contrast to his father. The reign of Mostanzer was long and peaceful. These two princes are celebrated for their love of poetry, in which they excelled. The age of Amer, son of the latter, who was still a child, made one of his uncles conceive a design of usurping the throne. The grand-vizier Afdal preserved it, however, for his young master; but he was very ill rewarded, as the prince, instead of making a grateful return for this service, disgraced him, and exposed him to the most ignominious treatment: Amer was a cruel, proud dissembler; abandoned to debauchery, addicted to gaming, and destitute of all religion. But he possessed the art of governing, and

Alakem,  
978 Taher,  
Mostanzer,  
Billah, 1025.  
Mostali,  
1087. Amer,  
1101.



was fond of the sciences, which he cultivated with success.

Hafed,  
1141. Dha-  
fer, 1151.  
Alfayez,  
1154.

Under Hafed, governed by his grand-vizier Bahram, the christians enjoyed so great favour that it excited the jealousy of the mussulmen. The result was a civil war between the vizier and Redvan, his rival, of which the caliph, it may be said, was only a spectator. The two religions triumphed in turns ; but Hafed at length established an equilibrium between them, by employing able men of both persuasions. The contest begun under Hafed by the aspirers to the viziership, to the great detriment of the authority of the caliph, continued under Dhafer and his successors ; and in a great measure was the cause of the revolution, which took place afterwards in Egypt. Dhafer was assassinated by his vizier, under the pretence of avenging an injury ; but in reality that he might govern in the name of Alfayez, the caliph's son, still an infant. The cruelties exercised against his uncles, as if the authors of their brother's death—cruelties to which the barbarous vizier made the young prince a witness—disordered his senses. He died at the age of eleven, and was succeeded by Al Aded, his grand-uncle, the eleventh and the last caliph of the family of the Fatimites. Under the two last the crusaders were successful in Egypt.

Under Al Aded, two viziers disputed for the <sup>Al Aded, 1161.</sup> supreme authority, of which the caliph possessed only the shadow. The power which the latter Fatimites had weakly entrusted to their prime ministers remained in the hands of Shower with the title of king. Shower was expelled by Dargan. The deposed vizier begged assistance from Nuro'ddin, the emir of Damascus, who more readily granted his request because, being extremely zealous for his religion, he saw with pain the progress which the crusaders, by means of these troubles, were making in Egypt. Dargan, fearing that he should be abandoned, not only stripped of their employments those officers whom he believed to be in the interests of his rival, but caused a great number of them to be massacred, which considerably weakened the kingdom. Notwithstanding these cruel persecutions, Dargan fell a sacrifice. Nuro'ddin sent to Shower a body of troops under the command of Afado'ddin, who re-established him in his office. When he ought to have repaid this service, the vizier forgot the kindness, and fearing the resentment of the Syrian emir, strengthened himself against his threats by an alliance with the crusaders. Nuro'ddin sent his general to attack both the Franks and the ungrateful vizier. Afado'ddin was accompanied on this expedition by his nephew Saladin, whom he made governor of Alexandria after he had taken it; but this young warrior restored it to the crusaders, in

consequence of a treaty made with them by his uncle. The latter, freed from the fear of the Syrians, extended their conquests in Egypt in so alarming a manner that Shawer, on the eve of losing every thing, and of being shut up in Cairo, had recourse once more to the emir of Damascus. Afado'ddin the general then re-appeared with his nephew Saladin; raised the siege; and defeated the plots formed against him by Shawer, who expiated by death his infidelity and ingratitude. The weak Ala Ded appointed the Syrian grand-vizier; but he died two months after, in consequence of a debauch, according to the account of some historians, and his nephew Saladin was raised to the throne.

Saladin, 1170 Saladin, during the first years of his power, was obliged to employ the utmost of his dexterity in order to support himself: on the one hand, against Nuro'ddin, the emir of Damascus, whom he found it necessary to persuade that notwithstanding the high degree of power to which he had attained he was still his subject; and, on the other, against the Egyptian emirs, displeased at his good fortune. He succeeded to establish himself on the throne; conciliating the esteem and friendship of the people by a just and moderate government, and the affection of the troops by his generosity and victories. Nuro'ddin continued, for some time, to address him in the language of a master, and sent orders to him, to which Saladin was ex-



pected to submit. Such was the command to acknowledge the Abasside caliph of Bagdad, and to cause to be effaced from the prayers the name of the Fatimite caliph. It is not known whether the caliph Ala Ded was alive at the time when this change happened, but at any rate he did not long survive it. Saladin seized his wealth, which enabled him to carry on his expeditions against the crusaders. The emir of Damascus died also; and, after having been subject to this Syrian monarchy, Saladin ruled in his turn. He took possession of Nubia; and as he was the founder of his own monarchy, he left it more flourishing than ever it was under any of his successors. He has been rendered famous in the history of Europe by the crusades, which supply the silence of the former respecting his warlike exploits, and those of the sultans of Egypt of that period.

The dynasty of Saladin is called the Aayab-Al Afdal, 1187. Al Aziz, 1188. Al Adel, 1190. Al Mansur, 1196. ite, from the name of Ayab, the father of this prince. It existed no longer than eighty years. These kings of Egypt adopted the title of sultan, which Saladin assumed when he abolished that of caliph. Al Afdal, his eldest son, possessed none of his father's qualities. He was incapable of making himself be either loved or feared. Al Aziz, his brother, took from him the sceptre of Egypt, and sent him to reside in Syria, from which he returned after the death of

Al Aziz to be tutor to Almanfur his nephew. When become the regent of a kingdom, which he had formerly governed, he endeavoured privately to supplant his nephew; but he was himself anticipated by Al Adel his uncle, the brother of Saladin. Al Adel gave himself out, at first, as the tutor of his grand-nephew Almanfur; but when he thought he had secured the suffrages of the great, by the presents he distributed, he openly assumed the title of sultan. He experienced opposition, but he surmounted it. Under his reign the crusaders took Damietta, and made considerable progress in Egypt. Al Adel had left the government of it to his son Al Camel, and lived peaceably himself on the throne of Damascus. He died at an advanced age, master of Mesopotamia and Arabia the Happy, which had been conquered for him by one of his grand-sons.

Al Camel,  
1228.

Al Camel, by settling in Egypt, lost the states of Syria. The princes of Balk and Edeffa took Damascus. He however recovered it, and combated, during his whole reign, with unequal success against those who wished to deprive him of the rest. He was no less embarrassed in Egypt, tormented sometimes by the quarrels among his christian subjects, the jacobites, and the Greeks, who occasioned great disturbance; sometimes by the opposition of his brothers or his relations; but oftener by the re-

volt of the emirs. His courage and prudence enabled him to triumph over all his enemies. He was fond of men of letters, collected them around him by his munificence, and took pleasure in their conversation. At the time of his death Nojmoddin, his eldest son, was carrying on war in Syria. The emirs proclaimed sultan, Ala Del, his youngest. The eldest hastened to assert his right; and as he returned in force, the same emirs who had given the crown to his brother, transferred it to the most powerful.

Nojmoddin, reflecting on this inconstancy of the great, thought he could procure stability to his power independently of their caprices, by increasing the number of the mamalukes. These were a body composed of Circassian slaves, vagabonds, and banditti, without country and without relations, who knew no other master than he by whom they were paid. The predecessors of Nojmoddin, from the time of Saladin, had maintained bodies of them, to whom they entrusted the guard of their person. The sultan augmented them, placed them in his fortresses, and by their means kept the emirs in subjection during his whole reign: but this militia, after his death, became extremely fatal to Al Malek his son.

Though at a distance when his father died, he was acknowledged as sultan, through the policy of a favourite concubine of his father, named

Nojmoddin,  
1239.

Al Malek,  
250.



Shajr-al-dor, as celebrated by her genius and courage as by her beauty. She took advantage of the cabals of the emirs to make them sensible that the kingdom had need of one chief, especially at a time when threatened by the victorious arms of Louis IX. king of France, who was advancing towards the capital. Al Malek was therefore proclaimed in the midst of confusion and intrigues. The victory he gained over Louis IX. at Maffoura, which ought to have secured him on the throne, was the cause of his losing it. The mamalukes, become insolent on account of their numbers and success, wanted to impose laws on the sultan in regard to the ransom of his prisoner. He resisted their pretensions, and was so imprudent as to let drop some hints that he intended to dismiss that insolent body. The emirs, the chiefs of the mamalukes, discovered that Al Malek was proposing to make peace with the king of France, on condition that the latter, with the excellent and well-disciplined troops which he had still remaining, would assist him to subdue the rebellious corps. These chiefs communicated their discovery to the soldiers, and the revolt instantly became general. The young prince, who went forth to appease them, was wounded by Rocnoddin, one of the emirs, and took shelter in a wooden tower on the banks of the Nile. The enraged soldiery pursued him to his retreat and

set it on fire. The sultan jumped into the Nile to save himself by swimming, but he was pierced by their arrows even in the stream.

The succession to the throne occasioned new scenes of confusion. The rebellious soldiers first placed upon it the artful concubine, who had procured the crown for Al Malek; but being afterwards ashamed to see themselves commanded by a woman, and a slave, they proclaimed Al Moez, one of their principal emirs. As he displeased them, they were seized with remorse for having excluded from their inheritance the dynasty of the Ayabites. They searched for and discovered a prince of that race, who was exceedingly well suited to their purpose, being only six years of age, so that the principal emirs governed under his name. They assigned to him as regent and tutor Azzoddin, who by the address of Shajr-al-dor, whom he married, did not long confine himself to these titles. He took possession of the throne himself, and was the founder of the mamaluke sultans, who were afterwards destroyed by the Turks.

#### ISLANDS OF AFRICA.

The islands of the Red Sea may be considered as appendages of Egypt. I shall add to them those of the ocean, which surround this large peninsula as far as the Strait of Gibraltar.

Bab-el-mandel divides into two parts the en-

trance of the Red Sea, which it commands. It was formerly the cause of bloody wars between the Abyssinians and the Arabs; but at present, while the Turks are masters of the two coasts, it is of no importance. It is a mountain of sand, two or three leagues in circumference, which produces neither fruit nor corn, vegetables nor grafs, and is inhabited only by a few wretched fishermen. The island of Suachem, near the Red Sea, is larger, but not more valuable. Barbora, opposite to the kingdom of Adel, is inhabited by negroes, who carry on a considerable trade. It contains excellent pastures.

Zocotora, near Cape Gardafui, is fifty leagues in circumference, and has two excellent harbours: it is governed by a prince, tributary to the Porte, and is fertile and well peopled. It produces aloes, frankincense, ambergris, rice, dates, and coral. The inhabitants call themselves Arabs, and are honest in their dealings. The air here is exceedingly warm, but it is moderated by the dews. The dress of both sexes is light, and serves rather as ornament than as a covering. They salute each other by an inclination of the head: this was the salutation of the ancient Arabs. They follow the mahometan religion; are unacquainted with the arts and the sciences, and believe themselves very learned when they know enough to enable them to carry on their trade.



We are, however, told by some travellers, that this ignorance can be ascribed only to a particular race of these inhabitants, whom they call Zocotorines; they are said to be wanderers, or Bedouins, who live like the brutes. There are among them half Bedouins or quarter Bedouins, according as they approach more or less to the civilization of the Arabs. If these travellers have not been deceived, or do not deceive, there are two very singular customs among the Zocotorines in regard to nativity and death. When a father finds that his wife is near the time of delivery, he kindles a fire before the door of his hut, and declares, with a loud voice, that he commits the child about to be born to such a person to be his adoptive father. On this occasion, he no doubt takes care to name one who is in a condition to maintain it. As soon as the child is brought into the world it is carried to the adopter, who educates it, according to these travellers, with all the tenderness of a real father. This, however, may not be the case in general. These children are called the *children of smoke*. It thence happens that a man of a benevolent disposition, who has no issue of his own, may find himself burdened with a multitude of children; and what is still more singular, it is not uncommon that he, who in this manner has got rid of his own children adopts others, and repays the af-

fection shewn to his own offspring by that which he shews to the offspring of others. The women, it is said, enjoy a like privilege of declaring, before they are brought to bed, to whom they consign the child which they are about to bring forth.

Another singularity, but a very cruel one, is, that the Zocotorines make no distinction between the dead and the dying. As soon as such persons are given over, without waiting for the result of those efforts which nature sometimes makes in a moment of crisis, they inter them before they have breathed their last: it would be inhuman, they say, to allow them to remain in a state of suffering. When the father of a family is in that condition, he sends for his children, his wives, his relations, domestics, and all those with whom he is in any manner connected, and exhorts them never to abandon the customs of their ancestors; never to form alliances with strangers; to be revenged of those who insult them; and never to allow relations to suffer when they can relieve them by death. In regard to him, this last part of the exhortation is immediately executed. It is accomplished, in general, by making the patient swallow a white liquor, which distills from a tree, and which is a speedy poison, infallible in its effect. The part of the exhortation which relates to vengeance is put in practice with equal fidelity. There are

few countries, therefore, in which murder is more common than in Zocotora.

Travellers have believed that they could discover traces of christianity in the religious ceremonies of some parts of this island, because the inhabitants have priests and crosses, employ processions, and preserve the name of certain saints. But, on closer examination, these crosses are only staves used for ornament without any reference to religion ; and their priests ignorant men, unacquainted with christianity. They cause their proselytes to make processions in honour of the moon, which is the principal object of their worship. In regard to the names of their saints, they are so different from those we know, that none but those determined, at all events, to discover christianity in Zocotora could find in them the least resemblance. It is true, indeed, that the word *Mary* is common ; but in their language it signifies a woman. It is not however impossible, that as this island was peopled from Greece by Alexander, at the request of Aristotle, in order to secure the trade carried on with aloes, christianity may have been transplanted thither when it was extended to Greece ; but the pretended traces which remain of it can scarcely afford any grounds for a conjecture of this kind. The Zocoterines are so attached to circumcision, that they deprive those of a finger whose parents have neglected to perform this operation, or who



refuse to submit to it. They are a warlike people, and well armed. Though they reside in an island they are absolutely ignorant of navigation, and have no vessels but a few wretched rafts, which they employ for fishing. It might, however, be expected that they would have a few barks made in imitation of those which frequent their island for the sake of commerce.

#### MADAGASCAR.

Madagascar, the largest island in the world, is accompanied with others placed at different distances from it. I have already spoken of Bourbon and the Isle of France. Saint Mary is exceedingly fertile, and the nearest to the large island. Rodrigue is the most distant in the ocean. Madagascar extends along the coast of Africa, and is said to be eight hundred leagues in circumference. The strait between this island and the continent is called the channel of Mosambique. It is the shortest route to India, and that generally pursued unless when vessels are driven from their course by tempests. It has good roads and harbours. The French were the first Europeans who formed settlements at Madagascar. Others touched there, but none of them penetrated so far into the country. This island contains iron, silver, and gold, precious stones, sulphur, saline springs, mineral waters, and others the surface of which is covered with

a sort of bitumen. The numerous rivers which intersect the country are bordered by fields proper for cultivation, and abounding with pasture. All sorts of fruit-trees grow on the hills; and the mountains produce timber fit for every kind of building.

The inhabitants are divided into whites and blacks. The former appear to be descended from the Arabs: the latter consist of four classes. The principal class, who are rather of a copper colour than black, have no affinity to the negroes either in their hair, which is long and smooth, or in their features. They are supposed to be the oldest inhabitants, and perhaps the aborigines if possible. The other classes have more or less of the negro, according to the mixtures which have taken place. The island is divided into provinces, some of which are so populous that they can send into the field a hundred thousand men in arms. The manners of the different tribes are doubtless not uniformly the same; and in so great an extent of country, I shall mention only what is most general, or what may appear most interesting by its singularity. In regard to natural productions, they are so various in the vegetable and animal kingdom, that the nomenclature alone is astonishing. No country perhaps has so many productions peculiar to itself, besides those which it possesses in common with other parts of the world: among these are

wine and oil, six kinds of honey, gums, sugar-canes, pepper, rice, yams, nourishing roots, ginger, cocoa-nuts, saffron, betel, with poisonous, odoriferous, and fibrous plants proper for making cloth. All our quadrupeds, both wild and domestic, are found in it, and a great many with which we are not acquainted; as well as insects, birds, and fishes, the last of which are extremely abundant in the rivers and on the sea coasts.

The province of Matotane is the seat of superstition, though the inhabitants have neither temples nor mosques; but their priests, who are at the same time physicians, astrologers, and divines, dispense to them, for money and presents, small billets inscribed with Arabic or unknown characters. Those who receive these billets preserve them carefully in a leather bag, which they wear suspended from the neck, and they believe that while furnished with such amulets they can be affected neither by rains nor wind, thunder nor death. They can brave even the force of poison and the arms of their enemies, who, as they imagine, are now rendered incapable of wounding them, of plundering their houses, or burning their villages. They are universal preservatives. The priests of Matotane, who are celebrated for making these amulets, sell them also in the other provinces.

The people of the bay of Atongil and their neighbours are distinguished by a name which



signifies the descendants of Abraham. They observe the sabbath and circumcision ; but they have retained none of the other Jewish practices, which must have been lost or confounded with their own ;—for these people are supposed to be really of Jewish extraction. They are remarkably cheerful ;—a character which they display, both male and female, in their labours. Their favourite occupation is agriculture. Their women distinguish themselves from those of the other parts of the island by their prudence and reserve. Two natural curiosities, which are not far from their country, deserve attention. The first is the *anramatico*, a large plant, the flowers of which have the form of a vase with a cover. They are full of water, and contain about four pints. The other is the *fone*, a kind of porcupine as large as a cat, the flesh of which is excellent food. It produces not less than twenty young ones at a time, and conceals itself in the earth in a very extraordinary manner. It first digs two feet in a perpendicular direction ; then two or three obliquely ; and again ascends within half a foot of the surface, where it constructs for itself a lodging : and though it remains there five or six months, without nourishment, comes out in as good condition as when it entered. Its flesh is in great request among those fond of dainties.

The varieties of the ape species at Madagascar are exceedingly numerous. Ought we to

class among these animals, or among men, naked beings with long beards and bristly hair, which inhabit the thickest forests, avoid intercourse with the other islanders, and live upon fish, game, roots, honey, and locusts, without any idea of agriculture? As they have a certain kind of jargon, and as both sexes cover their private parts, they are placed in the class of the human species.

Custom, and that kind of obligation imposed on travellers to give people a national character, have made them assert, that the islanders of Madagascar are revengeful, treacherous, and exceedingly cruel. The manner in which they treat their prisoners of war is adduced as a proof of the last mentioned quality. They take a barbarous delight in hacking to pieces infants; ripping up the bellies of pregnant women, and of suffering them, in that manner, to expire. Nothing is wanting to complete this picture but that they should eat them; which it is said they do in some cantons of the island, where they present the hands to their chiefs as the most delicious morsel.

They are fond of singing and dancing; but conversation and walking they think insipid. The latter, like all southern nations, they consider as folly; because to go continually backwards and forwards is fatiguing one's self to no purpose. They are not unacquainted with any

of the arts necessary for life; but they exercise them in a manner different from us, both in regard to the methods they employ, and the form, as well as the materials, of their clothes, furniture, and utensils. Their workmen, like those of India, labour as much with their feet as their hands. They serve the workers in iron, gold, silver, and wood, as a vice to hold fast the pieces on which they are employed; the potters as a wheel; and enable the weavers, spinners, and tailors, to finish and perfect their works. Agriculture in this happy country is not attended with much trouble. The fields are every year covered with thick grass, which being dried by the sun is set on fire. When it is burnt, the inhabitants turn over the ashes, and sow their seed, which soon springs up, and produces an abundant crop. Fishing and hunting require more labour. As these people live at their ease, they give frequent entertainments to each other. On these occasions, singing and dancing form always a part of their amusements. Their singing is not inharmonious, nor is their dancing destitute of regularity in its movements.

Stuffs of thread, made from bark or plants; gold and silver tissue, or embroidery, applied different ways to the body; chains, bracelets, collars, and ear-rings; form the dress and ornaments of both sexes. Polygamy is allowed among them in its utmost latitude. Every man may keep as



many wives as he chooses, and can maintain. The women, on their side, do not confine themselves to one husband. They have often two or three gallants, and often abandon the husband for the lover. In this respect the daughters do not degenerate from their mothers; and since promiscuous intercourse is thus authorized, it is astonishing that there should be any marriages at all. The ceremony indeed is so simple, that scarcely any remembrance of it can remain. A little more solemnity might strengthen their fidelity. They employ dancing at their funerals. The relations and friends of the male sex first begin to lament over the body, which is surrounded by tapers, while the women and girls dance with the utmost gravity. The latter then go and lament in their turn, asking the deceased why he quitted life; whether he was unhappy in it, or had not a sufficiency of gold, silver, and slaves. They afterwards return to their dancing, while the men ask questions of the like kind; and these scenes are successively repeated, till the body is carried out to be interred. At the grave they offer up sacrifices, the greater part of which is destined for the devil, whom they fear much more than they do God. These offerings are renewed from time to time, especially in moments of distress. The person who makes the offering then approaches the grave, and says: "Thou who art now present with God, give me advice

“ respecting this or that affair ;” which shews that they believe, if not in the immortality, at least in the survivance of the soul.

The same language is spoken throughout the whole island ; but the pronunciation is different, which makes those who do not pay particular attention believe that it has different dialects : the basis of this language is Arabic intermixed with Greek. The natives write from right to left. Their paper is beautiful. It is made in the same manner as ours, by reducing to a paste the bark of trees. Their commerce is carried on by exchange. They employ as a circulating medium gold and silver, but not in coin. They cut off at hazard a piece equal in value to the article they wish to purchase, and they are seldom mistaken in the quantity. Their war consists in attacking the enemy by surprize. They march along unknown routes ; creep on the ground ; conceal themselves in ambush, and rush upon their prey like ferocious animals : like them also, they knock down, massacre, and destroy. To their cruelty they add devastation by fire. They have arms of all kinds. Dancing acts a conspicuous part here likewise. While the men are in the field, the women dance day and night, and neither eat nor sleep in their houses ; but even those most inclined to voluptuousness never allow themselves the smallest

liberty ; as they believe that if they did so, their husbands would be infallibly killed or wounded.

These islanders believe in the existence of one God, the creator of heaven and earth, who is the author of all good ; and of a devil, the author of all mischief, who has a great number of companions. They dread the latter much more than they do God, and mention him first in their prayers. If we can credit some travellers, it might be believed that the natives of Madagascar have a perfect knowledge of our religion. The fall of Adam, the deluge, the Virgin Mary, the death of Jesus Christ, have all been found by these travellers in the conversation of their priests, but intermixed with fables, in which we must search for the truth. It appears, however, that these fables are the foundation of their belief ; and that the truths pretended to have been found in them are the fruits of the imagination of travellers, who, full of their own principles, believed they could trace them out in some ambiguous traditions, or some rites analogous to those practised in the christian religion. Considering the respect which these islanders pay to circumcision, they ought rather to be Jews : it is performed throughout the whole island on the same day, and with the utmost solemnity. There are many mahometans among them ; but whatever may be their reli-



gion, they have great faith in conjurors, force-rers, and amulets. They would be deficient in one part of superstition if they had not fortunate and unfortunate days.

## SCATTERED ISLANDS.

The Commora Isles, situated at the entrance of one branch of the channel of Mosambique, are, according to the most authentic accounts, five in number: they are unequal in size, being from ten to forty and fifty leagues in circumference; but equal in regard to fertility. I shall here mention what is most remarkable in their productions, and the manners of the people, without being very particular in specifying to which of the islands it belongs. Their rice, when boiled, becomes of a violet colour. The inhabitants of Augazya never suffer strangers to see their women, without permission from the sultan. Their government is aristocratic, and the women take a share in it. Those of Juannie are negroes, hospitable, simple, and open; void of ambition, and extremely indolent. Every thing is done by the women, while the men are employed in smoking and chewing betel. The kings live in a familiar manner with their subjects, without any pomp or distinction, except that of administering justice. They burn the devil in effigy, as they have nothing farther in

Commora  
Isles.

their power. The place where a man has died fills them with horror, and they fly from it.

Between Madagascar and the continent there are several small desert isles, which from their productions are called Rabbit Island, Deer Island, and Sheep Island. The tails of some of these sheep have been found to be twenty-nine inches in diameter, and to weigh thirty-four pounds. The island where they are bred, and become so fat, is sandy ; produces nothing but briars, and is destitute of fresh water.

St. Helena, in the Great Pacific Ocean, has been formerly a desert. Ascension is barren, without grass, and without water; but it has an excellent port, and abundance of tortoises and fish. In the rocks there is a place called the *Post Office*, because those who land on the island leave a letter there sealed up in a bottle. The next who arrive break the seal, take out the paper, and leave another in its stead. St. Matthew is uninhabited ; but it contains land capable of cultivation.

Nearer to the continent are the isles of Annobon, which are fertile and pretty well peopled. A Portuguese governor resides here, and the negroes have a chief also. The island of Trinity lies in the Ethiopic gulph. The inhabitants are of small stature ; and it is even said that young navigators, who have not attained to their full

growth, if they reside on this island never become bigger. The air is unwholesome, and often loaded with fogs, the pernicious effects of which cannot be avoided, but by confinement within doors. The inhabitants have annually two crops; but they pay dearly for this advantage by the cruel diseases with which they are tormented. This small spot, of about twelve leagues in circumference, produces excellent sugar-canes, from which the negroes make sugar. The Portuguese, who form part of the population, call themselves catholic christians, which indeed they are as far as their ignorance and superstition will allow. When the Dutch took this post, of so great importance to their commerce, the governor was dignified with the proud title of vice-roy. The inhabitants of Cacombe articulate words, and walk upright; but their women have no more modesty than brutes. This is all we know of them. In Prince's Island the inhabitants go naked, except their women and chief. The former wear on their head, by way of ornament, a chaplet of flowers: they have a cross suspended from their neck; and, like Amazons, bear in their hand a cimeter. The inhabitants of Fernand Lopez are savages. They are said to be of a treacherous, ferocious, and barbarous disposition: because, perhaps, they are mistrustful of the Europeans, and do not suffer them to land on their island, without great precaution.



## CAPE VERD ISLANDS.

The Cape Verd Islands are so called because they lie between Cape Blanc and Cape Verd in Africa, but nearer to the latter. When discovered by the Portuguese, they were uninhabited; but perhaps they had not been so always. They were peopled by that nation. Mayo produces excellent salt, which is entirely the work of nature. The places where it spontaneously shoots into crystals is surrounded by rocks, and the water enters it by a narrow passage like a sluice. This island contains three small towns; but the soil is dry and parched. The air is salubrious, and the inhabitants are healthy. The sterility of the island obliges them to live temperately; but they are not, on that account, of less size, or less vigorous. It has a negro governor, who holds his commission from the Portuguese governor. The sea abounds with fish, and particularly doradoes. The flamingo, a large bird which frequents the marshes, and often flies to a great distance, builds its nest of clay in the form of a cone. It deposits its eggs on the summit, and placing its body against the side of the cone, covers them with its tail: were they covered by its body they would be crushed. Bonavista is so called because it affords a beautiful prospect towards the sea. The nature and property of the Isle of Sal is indicated by its name.

St. Nicholas has two ports, and excellent water. St. Vincent is almost inaccessible ; but it is frequented by ships which take in cargoes of hides procured from the wild cattle. St. Lucia is high and mountainous. St. Anthony is distinguished by a mountain little inferior in height to the peak of Teneriffe. The negroes carry on an advantageous trade in fruits with the vessels which pass and repass. The island of Fuego takes its name from a volcano : it produces vines. Brava is almost a desert. This list is closed by St. Jago, one of the largest of the Cape Verd Islands, being about thirty leagues in circumference. It is the most considerable, and the best cultivated of the whole. A governor and a bishop reside on the island : it contains a pretty large town named Praya, with a strong fort which defends the harbour : but there is another larger, which is the capital ; and, like the island, named St. Jago. It produces abundance of cotton, with which it carries on a great trade ; and, in other respects, is exceedingly fertile. Its horses are held in high estimation. In all these islands the catholic priests have the charge of the body as well as the soul, being physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.

#### THE CANARY ISLES,

Travellers, when they pass the furnace of the African isles, and get beyond Cape Verd, into

the delightful temperature of the Canaries, which the ancients called the Fortunate Isles, experience the same pleasure as those who after a scorching day breathe the cool air of an agreeable evening. The name Canaries is said to have arisen from the Canaanites, who used to trade hither. These people found here no doubt what we find still—excellent fruits, and cattle to afford them fresh provisions after their long navigation. It is not known whether they formerly produced rice, which is abundant at present. They supply tar for vessels, and those pretty birds, named after them, which our young ladies make the companions of their solitude.

When the Portuguese settled in these isles, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, they found them inhabited by a people whose origin is unknown. They all spoke the same language, which they still retain. It has no resemblance to any of ours. Their manners, customs, and religion, were almost the same in all the different islands. In Grand Canary their number amounted to thirty-thousand; and in Teneriffe, to fifteen thousand men, women, and children. They are said to have been barbarous people; yet their ferocity did not induce them to inflict more severe punishment on the Spaniards, who had maltreated them, and who fell into their hands, than that of making them guard their cattle. They called themselves, and are still



named, Guanches; were of a gigantic stature, which has since decreased; and had a singular dexterity of throwing stones with a force equal to that of a musket-ball. This talent has, in a great measure, been lost by disuse. Their other arms were sticks sharpened to a point which was hardened in the fire, or headed with a piece of horn. Polygamy was admitted among them. The virginity of every woman who married belonged to the chief; and both the husband and wife considered it as a mark of great distinction when he deigned to make use of his right. Every time the chief was renewed, which happened on the death of the preceding one, a certain number of persons, of both sexes, sacrificed themselves in honour of him, and to render his reign happy. The devotion of these victims was rewarded by the favours which the monarch conferred on their families. The Guanches are active and lively; naturally warlike; and so nimble that they climb the steepest rocks, jump from the one to the other by the help of a pole, though at a considerable distance, and stand on the extremity of the most projecting point, provided there is room only to receive their toes. There is no certainty of keeping them, even when shut up in towers, as they find means to scale the inside of the walls; and by balancing their bodies are enabled to overcome every obstacle. They speak their native language with great rapidity, and

pronounce only with their teeth and lips. The few who remain of these people have become christians through a dread of the inquisition.

Palma is almost twenty-six leagues in circumference, and contains a volcano, the eruptions of which are not uncommon: they are generally preceded by an earthquake. It has a very pretty town, produces excellent wine, and its malmsey is in high request. Ferro, or the Island of Iron, which the French make their first meridian, as the Dutch do Teneriffe, has neither springs, wells, nor rivers. No water is conveyed to it from any other place, and yet eight thousand souls, and above eleven thousand quadrupeds, meet with an abundant supply of that necessary article. A tree resembling an oak, which grows in the middle of the island, is daily covered with a thick cloud; from this cloud a kind of pure sweet water distils on the leaves and branches, from which it trickles down into a large stone reservoir to the quantity of twenty hogsheads. This singular phenomenon is attested by travellers, some of whom assert that they saw the tree, and is not contradicted but by one, who is no farther a philosopher, say some authors, than by being incredulous. This is an astonishing fact, yet not impossible; and every thing that is not impossible, and is certified as truth by men of judgment and good sense, may be believed. It would, however, have been more

credible had these travellers made several trees and reservoirs instead of one.

Gomera produces sugar-canes and wine. The inhabitants of this island admit a community of women. Every man, indeed, has one of his own, but they would think it uncivil not to lend their wives to those who ask them. It is always the sister's son who inherits. Teneriffe is celebrated by its peak or mountain, which can be seen at sea from the distance of more than thirty leagues. It is a volcano which throws up ashes, stones, and burning lava. Its crater is called by the Spaniards the *devil's cauldron*. The Guanches consider it to be the mouth of hell. The greater part of these people who outlived the devastation occasioned by the Spaniards are found in Teneriffe, where they have a town inhabited entirely by themselves. They still speak their own language, which has some analogy to that of the Moors in Barbary. They acknowledge one supreme being, whom they believe to be good and compassionate. It appears by their traditions, that they once had a king to whom they swore fidelity. Their laws were few in number. Except for great crimes, they had no punishment but shame, that painful sentiment, a torment inseparable from those who do evil. Their monarchs had no other palaces than those formed by nature in the bosom of the rocks. Caves are still seen there, which are dif-



tinguished by the name of the *royal caverns*. Mutual consent was sufficient to constitute marriage, and repugnance or disgust to produce a divorce. Besides, respect for the sex was a fundamental law, which could never be infringed without incurring the pain of death. They practised a kind of baptism, which was performed by some young woman in the neighbourhood, who, on the request of the parents, poured a little water over the head of the new born infant: by this ceremony she contracted an alliance with the family. The education of young persons was entirely confined to bodily exercises. They embalmed their dead. This office and art were reserved for the priests and priestesses, the former of whom embalmed the men, and the latter the women. Their vestments served both to conceal their nakedness and as an ornament. It is not astonishing that Teneriffe should be the principal habitation of the Guanches. On account of its fruits and shady groves, the fragrance of the air and happy situation, it is perhaps the most delightful spot in the universe. Grand Canary is called also Palma, from the name of its capital. In fertility and beauty it rivals Teneriffe. Forteventura and Lancerota are two pretty large islands, accompanied with four smaller ones—St. Clara, Graciosa, Rocca, and Allgranza.

## MADEIRA AND THE AZORES.

Madeira and Porto Santo lie almost exactly opposite to the mouth of the Strait of Gibraltar, but at a great distance in the ocean. The former is about forty leagues in circumference. It is celebrated for its excellent wine, and the favour of its fruits, of which the inhabitants by means of the sugar produced in the island make the best preserves in the world. The clergy here are exceedingly rich. The churches are places of rendezvous for lovers, for people of business, and for those who go abroad on parties of pleasure. As soon as divine service is over they become like an exchange or coffee-house. When there are several daughters in a family, they walk two and two before the mother, having their faces covered by large veils, but their neck and shoulders quite bare. They are attended by an old man, who walks gravely by their side with a sword, a poniard, and a chaplet; but this formidable escort does not prevent ogling and other signs with all their usual consequences. Some authors have given the last touch to this picture, by telling us that every vice, and particularly incontinence, prevails here throughout all ranks. The Portuguese in this island are haughtier than any-where else. The meanest valet walks in state with his sword and his poniard, and footmen never wait at table

without a long rapier by their side. The number of asylums renders murder very common. An assassin need only touch the wall of a chapel to be in safety. Porto-Santo lies opposite to the kingdom of Morocco. The Portuguese East-India ships touch here to procure fresh provisions. It has never yet been determined whether the Azores belong to Africa, America, or Europe: they are at an equal distance from all these parts of the world in the Atlantic Ocean, and are exceedingly convenient to the Portuguese for their voyages to Brasil. The air in these islands is remarkably healthful, and no venomous or noxious animal can exist in them. The sailors, it is said, when they arrive here are immediately freed from all vermin. Pico, which is almost as high as Teneriffe, can be seen at a great distance. St. Michael would be a delightful abode, were not the inhabitants in continual dread of being swallowed up by earthquakes. St. Mary, surrounded by rocks, resembles a fortified castle: it produces nourishing roots, has several boiling fountains, one of which is of a petrifying quality, and abounds with provisions of every kind. It is surrounded by a tempestuous sea. Storms are announced by a cloud which covers the summit of the highest mountain in the island. A sort of murmuring noise is heard in the air, the cattle seem uneasy, and the birds retire to places of concealment. The



sea becomes agitated, and ships must fly as soon as possible, and abandon this dangerous coast. Angra is the capital of Tercera, and of all the Azores: it is the residence of the governor and the suffragan bishop of Lisbon: it contains immense magazines of naval stores for the refitting of vessels. Praya, a place of considerable trade, is the safest haven in the island. Fagel takes its name from the beech-trees with which it is covered. It is not destitute of cedar, and other valuable kinds of timber. Corvo abounds with ravens. In the last place, Graciosa and Flores indicate, by their names alone, the valuable gifts they enjoy from nature, which are scattered in profusion over an extent of five or six leagues, amidst the dreary uniformity of the ocean.

## ABYSSINIA.

The continent of Africa, to which we shall now call the reader's attention from the islands, presents a number of small states bordering its coasts, but few large empires that extend far into the country. The most considerable of the latter is Abyssinia. It is believed that this country was the ancient kingdom of Saba, and that it was formerly governed by women. At any rate there are two famous in history: one who paid a visit to Solomon, and carried back to her states the Jewish religion; the other called Candace, who received from one of her

eunuchs, instructed and baptized by the apostle Philip, the christian religion. The latter still prevails, but mixed with some of the Jewish rites. The christianity of the Abyssinians is the same as that of the Copts. The patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt is the head of their church, and confirms their bishops by admitting them into his communion. The emperor of Abyssinia must, in general, assume the priesthood before his coronation, after which he continues to discharge the sacerdotal functions on occasions of public solemnity. It is for this reason, perhaps, that he has been called by the Europeans *Prefter John*, a title of which no other origin is known. It is never given to him by the Abyssinians.

This empire has lost twenty-eight provinces through the incursions of its neighbours, by whom it has been considerably reduced: it is, however, still very extensive. These losses shew great weakness in the great body of the people, much negligence or incapacity in the emperors, and their want of ability to call forth the resources of so fine an empire. Its principal enemies are the Galli or Gallani, who enclose it on three sides. Some of the European literati make them to be descended from the Jews, transported into Assyria by Salmonazar, to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, or banished by Titus and Vespasian as far as Ethiopia. They employ circum-

cision, and this is one of the strongest proofs adduced of their Judaism. According to the Abyssinians they came from the eastern coasts of the Red Sea, from which they must have been expelled by the Arabs. These exiles may have been originally a tribe of the Celtæ or Gauls, who intermixing with the Caffres and other people of Africa, might have adopted their ferocity, and degenerated from the good qualities of their ancestors, retaining only their valour. But it is not improbable that they may be the descendants of those ancient Ethiopians, celebrated by their courage and invasions, whose spirit they have preserved. History, which has left a chasm of several centuries between the Ethiopian conquerors whom I have already mentioned in speaking of Judea, and the Abyssinians who seem to occupy their place, exhibits these Galli as a generous nation, who always return, without being discouraged, to the possessions which have been torn from them.

— They profess to believe in one supreme being who governs the world, but to whom they pay no worship: they shew no affection for their children, and suffer them to wander about like little savages. The children learn of themselves what they must always practise—that is, the use of arms. They are not suffered to quit the badge of infancy, which is long hair, until they have killed a ferocious animal or an enemy.



The most convincing proofs must be given of their having actually performed this exploit. Their onset in war is terrible : they never give nor ask quarter. They have no commander-in-chief. Each tribe has its own, who is elected every eight years. They are called *lubos*. Their first operation must be an incursion into the empire of Abyssinia, which serves them as a palestra or place of exercise. It would have been absolutely destroyed long ago had they not been often engaged in civil wars, which afforded some respite to the Abyssinians.

This empire lies entirely in the torrid zone, yet, on account of the great rains, the forests, mountains, and rivers, there are districts in it as temperate as Spain and Portugal; but the low sandy plains reflect a heat insupportable to any other people except Abyssinians. The winds here are impetuous, the thunder awful, and the rains like torrents : the season of these meteors is unwholesome, and produces diseases. The moisture and the heat—the valuable means of fecundity—cover their meadows with grass always renewed, and their trees with blossom and fruits at the same time. They promote the speedy vegetation of a kind of very small grain, called *teff*, of which they make excellent bread, the principal part of their nourishment. Nature, while she gave to the Abyssinians serpents of an immense size, made

them a present of a plant, by the touch and smell of which alone, it is said, they are thrown into a state of torpor. Some of these monsters have a large mouth, which they open to a prodigious extent, inhale a great quantity of air, and having retained it some time, throw it out with such force, and in such abundance, that they can overturn and poison at the distance of several paces.

Abyssinia has all our quadrupeds, but with some variation. The oxen, for example, are of such prodigious size, that one of their horns is capable of containing more than twenty pints. In others the horns are so soft and flexible that they hang down like a broken arm. Their horses are remarkably beautiful: there is one kind as large as the elephant, but better and more delicately made. A man may pass under their belly without stooping. The Abyssinians do not tame their elephants: they remain in a wild state, and are very destructive. Their plains are ravaged also by the rhinoceros, as well as by lions and tigers. The crocodile and the hippopotamus are in the Nile, the largest river of Abyssinia, as if in their empire. The former of these amphibious animals is well known, but the second is almost inaccessible, and never discovers itself but by the destruction it occasions. This animal is almost as large as the elephant, and like it is armed with tusks. It is called the sea-horse, though it

partakes more of the ox than of the former. It is less formidable at land, on account of its weight, than it is in the water, where it often oversets barks and other small vessels: it tears and devours not so much for the sake of food as to glut itself with blood. When it bellows the earth is said to tremble. At land it shuns man and flies from him, but the female is extremely dangerous when she has young. The male associates with several; and, like the cock amidst his hens, seems attentive and jealous, and never suffers a rival.

The cramp-fish is common in Abyssinia. It is employed in medicine, being applied in cases of fever as if to render the disease torpid. The *pipi*, a singular bird, attaches itself to sportsmen, and never leaves them till it has pointed out game, because it lives on the offals; but they must take care to follow it well armed as it may sometimes lead them also to a dangerous animal, such as a serpent or tiger. Another bird, called *moroc*, enables the natives to discover honey, which is made by a certain kind of bees below the earth. Abyssinia is often ravaged by clouds of locusts, which occasion famine by devouring the plants, and pestilence by their dead bodies, which cannot all be burnt or interred. They are eaten fresh, or dried and reduced to powder, which is afterwards converted into a paste; but it is not an agreeable food.



Though there are a great many mahometans, jews, and pagans, in Abyſſinia, the christians are the most numerous. Of the idolatry of the pagans very little is known; but it seems to consist rather in superstitious rites than in the adoration of idols. The court language is a mixture of almost all those of the empire: it is deficient neither in expression nor richness. The ancient Ethiopic still retains its dignity; it is employed in the emperors' letters patent, in the public registers, and divine service.

The Abyſſinians, if we except those Ethiopians who at Rome in the time of Augustus were thought horribly ugly, are well made; they are of a tall majestic stature; rather brown than fair; have lively sparkling eyes; a well-shaped nose, not at all flat; thin lips, and very white teeth. Their disposition inclines them to be virtuous: they possess all the simplicity of nature; have a great deal of candour, and exhibit every sign of innocence. They rarely quarrel with each other, and readily submit to the decision of the first arbiter they meet. The administration of justice is neither tedious nor complex. They are extremely affected in their manners, and remarkably fond of dress. Their wives are allowed to visit their relations. Those of quality do not lay their inclinations under any restraint—a privilege not very agreeable to men of inferior rank, who are foolish enough to marry them;

but the relations compel them to bear their disgrace with patience. Those of common rank perform all the laborious part of their domestic economy. There are some kinds of work which the male slaves refuse to do; such as that of grinding their corn, a task that occurs every day. A marriage to be firm and valid must be solemnized in church: it is prohibited within certain degrees of consanguinity, and divorces are allowed. In order that a separation, when it takes place, may occasion no trouble, each party in general retain their own property. A woman convicted of adultery is punished by shaving her head, depriving her of her possessions, and expelling her in a mean dress from the house of her husband to gain her livelihood by her needle. What is very singular, a woman is punished also for the libertinism of her husband, but only by a slight fine: the husband's infidelity is supposed to be owing to her fault, as she ought to have found means to please him.

Their dishes are excellent, and of various kinds. They drink neither cyder nor wine, though they might make the latter in abundance, but hydromel, the basis of which is honey brought to a state of fermentation. They never drink but at the end of their meals: their maxim is, that they ought to plant before they water. Their furniture is neat, and more or less magnificent according to their riches. The most

whimsical article is the pillow of their bed, if we can apply that name to a kind of fork, on which they do not rest their head but the neck, for fear of deranging their hair which they suffer to hang down. The men bind it up in various ways ; but the women let it float over their shoulders, and intermix it with ornaments of gold and precious stones. The emperor alone has a right to make use of a cap. It is not long since they became acquainted with the tools employed in different arts ; and for these, as well as for the art of building, they were indebted to the jesuits : before, they could only place one stone above another in an irregular manner. They had no idea of stairs, or of different stories, which they call a house upon a house. Notwithstanding their paucity of tools, they had cloth, stuffs exceedingly well wove, and jewels of the neatest workmanship. They seldom travel into other countries ; and even if they had an inclination to do so, they are prevented by the Turks and the Galli, who keep their frontiers as if in a state of blockade. They are unwilling also that the entrance into their country should be opened. They depend on factors for disposing of their merchandize by exchange, which is never in favour of the Abyssinians ; so that with an inexhaustible store of productions—skins, furs, leather, honey, wax, gold, ivory, and abundance of superfluities—Abyssinia is extremely poor.



The women never have occasion for the aid of a midwife: they bring forth with wonderful facility, and suckle their children without trouble or embarrassment.

Abyssinia is as fertile in the animal as in the vegetable kingdom, nor is it inferior in the mineral. It contains silver, but more gold, and a great deal of lead and iron. It is not said that it is destitute of copper or tin. The salt dug from mines, extracted from saline springs, or collected in the form of a crust in the immense plains, though very common, is considered as a valuable article: every person carries a small bit of it suspended in a bag from the girdle. When two friends meet they produce their bits of salt, and give them to each other to lick: to neglect this ceremony would be thought a great incivility. It is said that the heat, which renders the mouth parched, gave rise to this whimsical custom; but they might moisten the mouth and render speaking easier by each using his own salt, without licking that of another. This singular mode of salutation reminds us of a still more singular manner of receiving visits, related by a missionary who had been introduced at the court of a labo, or petty prince of the Galli. "He was sitting," says he, "on the ground in the middle of his hut, having his courtiers around him, each with a rod in his hand. As soon as I entered, the whole company put themselves

“ in motion, and belaboured me with their rods :  
“ I betook myself to flight ; and when I had  
“ reached the door, which was the established  
“ signal, the bastinading ceased, and they re-  
“ ceived me with compliments.” When asked  
why they use this ceremonial with friends, who  
are invited and expected, they reply, “ that it is  
“ to teach those who visit them that there is no  
“ nation braver than theirs, and that those who  
“ accost them must humble themselves.”

The natural curiosities of Abyssinia are enormous mountains, the rocks of which exhibit the appearance of walls, towers, and cities ; others such a smooth surface as renders them almost like a mirror ; and some hollowed out by nature, or in which have been cut out apartments, churches, and palaces. At the bottom of these mountains there are steep precipices where the torrents roll down large stones with a most tremendous noise ; and on their summits plains, the inaccessible edges of which convert them into prisons, where the first children of their kings, whose competition for the throne was apprehended to be productive of mischief, were formerly exposed to languish in misery. The beautiful rivers by which Abyssinia is watered flow down from these mountains. The Nile is only a rivulet till it is joined by the Gemma, which is much larger and more rapid than itself. Thus augmented, it runs twelve leagues across the lake Dambée,

without mingling its water with it ; and it then becomes a large and majestic river, but it does not begin to acquire great reputation till it leaves its own country.

The government of the Abyssinian monarchs has always been despotic, without their power being confined by written laws, or the authority of any body except that of the clergy, who have sometimes opposed an effectual resistance to the arbitrary will of the emperors : they call them *naguhs*, which signifies king of kings. Their seal has engraved on it a lion holding a cross, with this legend : *The lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered*. They do not conceal themselves from public view, like the eastern monarchs ; but shew themselves readily to their people, who never approach them but with ceremonies almost equivalent to adoration. They live more in tents than in palaces ; but these tents are as magnificent as palaces, while their guard forms a real army, and their court a pompous and splendid retinue. It is augmented even by the women during military expeditions, to which they are a great incumbrance. The breaking up of this camp, and the removal of it from one place to another, is a real calamity, even in the time of peace, to those countries through which the army passes, because the roads must be repaired, and provisions furnished and conveyed to it by the inhabitants, who are



ſucceſſively ruined by theſe paſſages throughout the whole empire. It is rather aſtoniſhing to ſee a camp divided into pariſhes ; each of which has its own clergyman, with deacons and other eccleſiaſtics, who aſſiſt in divine ſervice, and the inſtruction of youth.

The crown is hereditary, but does not neceſſarily paſs to the eldeſt. The emperor chooſes for his ſucceſſor one of his children whom he wiſhes to favour ; and this cuſtom has frequently given riſe to civil wars. To prevent theſe, a ſcheme was deviſed, in conſequence of which all thoſe princes who had a right to the throne were confined on the top of a mountain, almoſt inacceſſible, where they were cloſely guarded. This cuſtom was, however, aboliſhed on account of the indirecſt reproach of an infant. The emperor had a great fondneſs for this child, who was only eight years of age. One day, while he was ſporting with him, one of his courtiers approached, and obſerved to the king that the child was growing tall. On theſe words, the young prince looking tenderly at his father, ſaid : “ Have I become big enough to be ſent to “ the mountain !” The emperor, affected by this arch apoſtrophe, aboliſhed the cuſtom, and made his council ſwear that it ſhould never be re-eſta-bliſhed.

The ceremony of the coronation is magnificent : a great part of it conſiſts of eccleſiaſtic

rites, such as reading the liturgy and singing psalms. The grand-almoner announces the monarch to the people, as the prince chosen to govern them. The king takes on oath that he will discharge his duty with justice and moderation. The metropolitan then places the crown on his head, puts on his royal robe, and gives him a cross to hold in his hand for a sceptre: this badge, however, is not peculiar to the emperor, as it is borne by every priest.

In imitation of Solomon, from whom they pretend to be descended, the Abyssinian emperors maintain several wives; and, like him, of different religions. That they may have a still greater resemblance to him, they allow each to exercise her own religion; so that it is not uncommon to see around the palace, or royal tents, mosques and pagan temples close to a church. At the emperor's marriages, which are frequent, the ecclesiastical guests or others are obliged, as is the case at those of his subjects, to consume every thing that has been served up. They never retire from their repasts, if they can, till they are scarcely able to stand; but the ceremony always commences with religious rites. Of all these wives, the prince chooses one whom he causes to be proclaimed empress, and who enjoys great privileges. The naguhs, or Prester John, receives sacred orders, though not always the priesthood: in general, he confines himself

to the deaconship, and he assumes these orders, as appears, that he may enjoy the privileges of the clergy ; enter into the sanctuary ; present the cross to be kissed ; and, above all, have authority in that body of which he forms a part by his ordination. The children of the great, even when at the breast, are initiated into the ecclesiastical state.

Except in regard to the discipline of the church, to which the emperor strictly conforms, he enjoys absolute authority in every thing. One whimsical custom is, that he must never be seen at his meals. All employments, both at court and in the army, are disposed of by purchase. It may thence be judged how the troops are commanded, and in what manner justice is administered. The form of proceeding in courts of justice is wisely established. Neither counsellors nor attornies are employed. The parties are heard publicly, and the judge, having consulted the assembly, passes sentence ; but he is not obliged to follow the general opinion. As he buys his office, the sentence often favours of the necessity of paying ; because he incurs no punishment, and is exposed to no shame by being unjust. The law of retaliation is established in this country. A murderer is given up to the relations of the deceased ; this custom authorizes cruelty, and multiplies revenge. The Abyssinians would be capable of carrying on war with



success were they better disciplined, and better commanded. They are not badly armed; but in their camps there is too much luxury, and too little exercise, so that when they encounter the enemy they are destitute of experience, and are easily thrown into confusion: besides, their army is always inferior in number to what would be required for the defence of a large empire, continually threatened by restless and warlike neighbours. This defect arises from the nagahs, through a fault of the government, being one of the poorest princes on the earth: not that his revenues, were they faithfully carried to the treasury, would be inconsiderable; but they pass through so many hands, and there are so many exceptions and privileges, that what remains to him amounts to very little.

The Abyssinian annals contain an account of the queen of Saba's journey to Jerusalem. Some circumstances in it appear more like fable than truth; yet one is inclined to give credit to it at bottom. With regard to the conversion of queen Candace, by one of her eunuchs, who had been instructed by the apostle Philip, the account of it corresponds with that given in the gospel of St. Luke. Christianity, however, did not become the prevailing religion in Ethiopia, till towards the middle of the fourth century. Athanasius, the great patriarch of Alexandria, sent thither a bishop, whose successor is the *abuna*,

the only person in Abyffinia who exercifes the facerdotal functions. It is a custom, obferved with a rigour which has rendered it a law, that this *abuna* muft never be an Abyffinian; and this circumftance affords the Alexandrians the fure means of preferving their fupremacy. They, however, frequently abufe it; for, in general, they fend only ignorant men, who purchafe that office by money. As they buy, they fell alfo all the lucrative places in the church.

In the church of Abyffinia there are degrees of all kinds: *depferas*, or chanters; *komos*, a kind of high-priefts, &c. They marry and perform divine fervice with a confiderable degree of decency. Pfalms are fung in the churches, and mafs is chanted, but always with a low voice. They have no carved images. Their tenets are the fame as thofe of the church of Alexandria, which acknowledges only one nature, and one will, in Jefus Chrift. They believe in the real prefence, ufe fupreme unction for the fick, and praftife public confeffion. Penitents are never abfolved without reproaches and blows, with a ftick or whip upon the foulders. They have monks of all kinds, extremely aultere, temperate, and poor, collected in monafteries, and difperfed in caverns, or on the mountains: thefe monks live in a ftate of celibacy. A certain perfon having one day asked the emperor's fecretary, who had been a monk, if they made vows, he

replied : “ The votaries, prostrated on the earth, “ promise aloud to their superior to observe “ chastity ; but they add, quite low, in the same “ manner, as you observe it.” Circumcision among the Abyssinians is merely a political institution, as is also the prohibition to eat certain kinds of food. They admit the three first councils, with the books of the Old and New Testament ; invoke the Virgin Mary, saints, and angels ; pray for the dead, and administer baptism. They do all these rather from habit than education. They have no schools or universities to instruct young men in useful knowledge and the principles of religion. Their language even has no terms expressive of these establishments.

There is no regular chronology of the Abyssinian emperors, or great naguhs, but for the last four hundred years. Some traditionary facts respecting the princes descended from Solomon, who reigned before, are still preserved : such, for example, as the singularity of the three brothers, who, to avoid all dispute, having agreed in an amicable manner to reign together, divided the day and the night into three parts, in order that they might each reign eight hours. This expedient, say the Abyssinian annals, was attended with the best consequences. About the beginning of the tenth century, the throne was usurped by a woman, whose posterity pre-



served it for three hundred years. But respecting this dynasty, we have only a few circumstances, ranged in a very imperfect chronological order, which took place after the entrance of the Portuguese into Abyssinia, under the great Alphonso Albuquerque.

This general, having undertaken to secure the David, 1501 trade of his nation on the Red Sea, cast his eyes towards the emperor of Abyssinia, as being able to afford it protection. He sent thither an ambassador, who found means to procure a favourable reception, and to inspire the empress Helen, the grand-mother and guardian of David the young king, with the desire of forming an alliance with the king of Portugal, in order to obtain assistance from him against the mahometans who infested the frontiers of the empire. This able negotiator persuaded the grand-mother and grand-son that the aid would be much more certain if they embraced the catholic religion. Helen shewed it the most distinguished favour, and David followed her example. This conduct gave offence to the whole clergy, so that intestine broils were now added to the foreign war, which he imagined he should be able to prevent. The Portuguese, indeed, came to his assistance; but so few in number that they were not able to procure him any decisive success. After twenty years spent in military operations, during which the emperor had against him a great part of his

kingdom, he was obliged to retire, with a handful of faithful adherents, to a dry and inaccessible rock. Blockaded by his enemies, abandoned and hated by his subjects, though brave and virtuous, he died a prey to grief and misfortune, in that horrid asylum, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Claude, 1553

His son Claude, who succeeded him, pursued a course entirely different from that of his father. He endeavoured to regain the favour of the Abyssinian clergy; but he found himself thwarted by the Portuguese, who had acquired a great ascendancy at court, especially with women devoted to catholicism. Claude, however, who managed the two religious parties with great policy, tolerated a catholic patriarch, but did not abandon the abuna; and in this manner he was able to make use of the Portuguese, who were from time to time recruited by the viceroy of Goa. They were sometimes sufficiently strong to demand from him favours, contrary to the neutrality he had resolved to observe, and disagreeable to the Abyssinian clergy. On these occasions, Claude always complied with their wishes; but he at length separated the Portuguese, under pretences which were never wanting, and distributed them in places at such a distance from each other, that he had no occasion to fear they would ever unite and dictate laws to him.

This sovereign, who is characterized as valiant and wise, was killed in a battle against Novo, the general of king Adel, a mahometan prince, who resided on the borders of the Red Sea. It is to be observed, that the political balance, which Claude held between the two religions, never inclined in favour of the catholics farther than protection; as he always openly professed that of his ancestors.

As he left no legitimate children he was succeeded by his brother Minas. <sup>Minas, 1554</sup> This prince did not behave with the same prudence towards the Portuguese, or the jesuit missionaries, who accompanied them: he declared himself openly against them; caused their churches to be shut up, and persecuted their profelytes. This conduct of Minas is ascribed, by the Portuguese authors, to his ferocious disposition, and the education he had received among the Moors. Others say, that he became cruel towards the missionaries only because he observed that they favoured two of his nephews, who had successively revolted against him; and even excited the rebellion of these princes, who, by their illegitimate birth, were excluded from the throne. Minas was successful, and triumphed over them. He did not, however, adopt the cruel resolution of massacring the Portuguese or the missionaries; nor was he so imprudent as to banish them: he only determined to confine them closely in his king-



dom, in such a manner, that they could neither keep up any correspondence with their friends abroad, nor send to demand assistance. He excluded them from all intercourse with his troops; took back the property that had been given them; and suffered them to fall into a state of poverty, which is always degrading. It is not known whether this prince, who was continually engaged in war during his short reign, died in battle, or whether, after a defeat which he experienced from the Turks, he was obliged to conceal himself in the mountains, where he languished out his life as a fugitive and a wanderer.

Malac, 1567

His son Malac inherited the crown notwithstanding the misfortunes of his father. The reign of this prince was attended with a considerable share of happiness, though continually involved in war, either against his revolted subjects, or against the ancient enemies of his empire—the Galli and the Mahometans. He had neither time, nor, perhaps, inclination, to renew the persecution of his father against the missionaries and their proselytes. He suffered them to live in peace, without doing them hurt or shewing them favour. Malac had some intercourse with the viceroy of Goa: he requested he would send him workmen to cast cannon, to manufacture gunpowder, and to make swords and other weapons; but he never spoke of auxiliary troops.

His inconstancy in regard to the choice of a successor occasioned a great deal of disturbance after his death.

He had for some time cast his eyes on Zadenghel, his brother's son, with an intention of naming him his successor. Afterwards he conceived so much friendship for Jacob, one of his natural sons, who was then scarcely past the period of infancy, that he caused him to be acknowledged by all the chiefs. When at the point of death he changed his sentiments once more, and urged, as he said to his nobles assembled around him, by love for his country and the interest he took in its preservation, ratified the choice he had before made of his nephew, as being the fittest, under the existing circumstances, to fill the throne, to which he was invited by his age, his valour, and his other qualities; but these very qualities induced a part of the principal men of the state to confer the crown upon Jacob, then seven years of age, under whom they hoped to hold the reins of government themselves. They, therefore, seized Zadenghel and confined him in prison; but another faction set him at liberty. He afterwards got Jacob into his hands; but, instead of treating him with inhumanity, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, to render him incapable of reigning, as advised, he was satisfied with banishing him to an agreeable part

of the kingdom, under the inspection of a governor, by whom he was narrowly watched.

Zadenghel shewed himself worthy of his uncle's choice. He put himself at the head of his army against the Galli, and a battle taking place his two wings were routed. The main body also being thrown into disorder and beginning to fly, his generals came to him to request he would retire before the enemy could have an opportunity of surrounding them; but the intrepid young man, who was only twenty-four years of age, instead of following their advice, dismounted from his horse with his sword in one hand and his buckler, in the other, and addressed them as follows. "I am resolved to die on the spot where I now stand. You may escape the sword of the enemy; but you will never escape the infamy of having abandoned an emperor whom you all recently proclaimed." On these words the soldiers, who were on the point of flying like a flock of timid sheep, threw themselves on the Galli with the fury of lions, and gained a complete victory, which was followed by several others. After this advantage, which secured the esteem of his subjects, he might have reigned in peace, had he not excited their hatred by a predilection for the catholic religion. The Abyssinian clergy were incensed at this conduct; and the faction which elected



Jacob was revived. Both parties flew to arms, and Zadenghel was defeated and killed before the expiration of the second year of his reign.

It was not, however, the faction of Jacob that triumphed. On the death of Malac, when Zadenghel succeeded, another of his nephews, named Sufnée, had appeared as a competitor; but he was obliged to fly and to retire to a place of concealment. Having heard in his retreat of his brother's death, he again made his appearance, and took possession of the throne. Jacob lost his life in the dispute, or while they were disputing in his name; for he was still too young to assert his right in person. Sufnée, when victorious, behaved with great moderation in regard to the partisans of his nephew, and endeavoured to gain their support by lenity and mildness.

It is not known what reasons could induce Sufnée to declare himself for the catholic religion, and to persecute his own to such a degree as to bring Abyssinia to the brink of ruin, unless it was a desire of being freed from the shackles of his clergy, become too powerful; but he sometimes imposed on himself chains which were no less galling. There was at that time in Abyssinia a jesuit named father le Pays, a man of great talents and address, who took it into his head to subdue that empire for the pope. According to the system of his brethren who had preceded him, he conceived that his mission ought to be

supported by troops. He insinuated himself into the confidence of the emperor; and induced him, by flattering his wishes, to check the authority of the great who restrained his own, and with that view to send for a body of Portuguese troops: at the same time he advised him to favour the Roman religion, and to grant it his decided protection and signal favours, in order to diminish insensibly the power of the Abyssinian clergy. On the other hand, le Pays wrote to Portugal, and transmitted thither, by the way of Goa, instructions respecting the facility and advantage of rendering itself supreme ruler in that vast empire. He promised nothing less than one third of it to Portugal; and to the pope the addition of a rich and powerful church. A pretty considerable body of Portuguese troops were therefore sent out to him; and he received also from the court of Rome every authority he could wish, in regard to the changes to be made in the rules and doctrines of the church.

The first splendid conquest of father le Pays was that over Cella Christos, the emperor's brother, who publicly abjured the Abyssinian faith and embraced the catholic. Several circumstances gave the emperor reason to believe that his subjects did not approve the changes which he intended. A new Jacob, who appeared with arms in his hand, supported himself by the favour of the clergy much longer than he could

have done by the assistance of his partisans alone. A reinforcement of missionaries, newly arrived, had experienced on their route some indirect insults, which indicated the malignant disposition of the natives towards them. The emperor finding, or believing, himself freed from the revolters, and being supported by his brother Cella Christos, resolved to strike an important blow. After some conferences, held for the sake of form, between the catholics and the Abyssinians, Susn   issued an edict by which he gave orders that no person, under pain of the severest punishment, should in future advance that there was only one nature in Jesus Christ.

In regard to this exertion of authority, advantage had been taken of the absence of the abuna. He therefore hastened to assert his dignity, and being seconded by Eman   Christos, another of Susn  's brothers, hoisted the standard of defiance, and excommunicated the catholics. Eman   Christos was joined by Eulos, the emperor's son-in-law, and Caslo, the steward of his household, who all three conspired against the life of the prince. Having failed in their attempt, they had recourse to arms. Eulos, too presumptuous, and persuaded that his character, as the emperor's son-in-law, would secure him from all violence, proceeded boldly through his father-in-law's army, and advanced towards his tent, attended only by seven persons, but he was



killed just as he was about to enter it with an intention far from pacific. On this catastrophe his party dispersed. The albuna lost his life on this occasion also. Susnée then issued an edict forbidding the practice of the Abyssinian rites. Remonstrances were made from all quarters, and insurrections every-where took place. To the former the emperor opposed exhortations; to the latter arms, which under his command were victorious: at last he himself abjured the Abyssinian religion, and embraced that of Rome.

A patriarch was expected at Lisbon to confirm the changes which had taken place, and to give a solid form to the infant church. Father le Pays had not, however, the satisfaction of beholding the success of his labours, as he died before the arrival of the patriarch. The latter, who was a jesuit, named Mendez, came accompanied by nineteen of his brethren, two of whom were consecrated bishops in order to supply his place in case of necessity. They were received with the greatest demonstrations of respect and affection. Nothing could be more pompous than the ceremony in which was consummated, not only the union of the Abyssinian church, but the submission of the emperor and all his court to the church of Rome. Basilides his eldest son, his relations, the viceroys, and the grandees delegated for that purpose, being all

present, Sufnée fell upon his knees before the patriarch, and took the following oath:

“ We the sultan Sufnée, emperor of Ethiopia, believe and acknowledge that St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, was established by our Lord Jesus Christ chief of the whole christian church, and received from him the principality and sovereignty of the whole world when he said—Thou art Peter, and on this stone I will build my church, and will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and when he said to him on another occasion—, Feed my sheep. We believe also that the pope of Rome has the same power and the same authority over the whole christian church, and we promise and swear to our St. Peter, Urban VIII. and to his successors, true and sincere obedience, subjecting ourselves and our empire at his feet. So help us God, and his holy evangelists, &c.”

It is here seen that nothing was wanting to this formula, which was sworn to by all present, after the emperor had done. Cella Christos, before he took the oath, delivered a speech, in which he called to mind the disobedience of some persons to the liturgic commands of the emperor; and holding his naked sword in his hand, said—“ What is past cannot be recalled; but those who do not perform their duty shall be judged by this sword.” In the same

assembly the emperor caused his son Basilides to be acknowledged as his successor, and made him take the oath of fidelity. Cella Christos, always hurried on by his zeal, added to the formula the following words, which were much praised by the jesuits: "I swear to obey him as a faithful subject as long as he shall maintain, defend, and favour the holy catholic faith, without which I shall be his first and greatest enemy." The emperor gave orders that all the ladies of the court should take the same oath the day following, which was accordingly done.

He did not experience the same compliance among the clergy and the people, who could be induced neither by threats, punishment, nor the most flattering promises, to submit to the different edicts which appeared to abrogate their faith and their rites. They were averse to many usages which he wished to introduce: such as kneeling down in the church; having fixed altars, crucifixes, and images in relief; auricular confession; and other practices. Whilst the frightened ecclesiastics were deserting their monasteries, and flying to the mountains, the emperor ordered a magnificent palace to be erected for the patriarch and his companions. He caused to be constructed also a superb cathedral; but as it was built in the form of a cross it displeased the Abyssinians, accustomed to the cir-



cular form. Being kept as captives at court and in the environs, they avenged themselves in the places which were more remote. In their turn they maltreated the catholics, and found governors who encouraged their hatred. One of the emperor's sons-in-law, named Tecla, viceroy of the kingdom of Tigré, revolted; but being pursued by his father-in-law he was taken, and hung at the head of his army:—an infamous punishment, which the naguhs inflicted also on the sister of the unfortunate prince. It was a remarkable thing for a woman to be hung in Ethiopia, and particularly a woman of that quality. This spectacle irritated all the female sex, who ought not to be considered as indifferent in matters of religion.

The patriarch, on his part, employed the utmost rigour and the utmost zeal in order to establish his principles. He rebaptized the Abyssinians, reordained the priests, and caused the bodies of the schismatics who had been buried in the catholic churches to be disinterred, under a pretence that they were defiled by them. He was involved, however, in a very serious quarrel with the emperor's daughter. This princess, a woman of gallantry, had two husbands, and lived publicly with a lover whom she pretended to be desirous of marrying: for this purpose she demanded a dispensation from the patriarch, who refused to shew the same compliance as the

ancient abuna. The princess incensed, flattered her father, excited the other women to espouse her cause, and attacked the old emperor with remonstrances. He at length yielded to their repeated entreaties, and mitigated the severity of his edicts against the Abyssinian rites. The haughty patriarch took up the affair with warmth, but the king had not leisure to attend to his representation, as he was obliged to march against the rebels, who defeated him several times, and compelled him to seek safety by flight. He, however, collected a more numerous army, marched against them again, and became victorious in his turn.

After the combat, while traversing the field of battle with a melancholy air, accompanied by the greater part of the officers of his court, they addressed him as follows: “ Behold these  
“ thousands of slain. They are neither maho-  
“ metans nor gentiles; they are your own vas-  
“ sals, our blood and relations: whether you  
“ conquer or are conquered you plunge a sword  
“ into your own bosom. Those people who  
“ make war against you are conscious of no  
“ wrong: they take up arms only to defend  
“ their ancient religion, which you are desirous  
“ of forcing them to renounce. What abun-  
“ dance of blood has this unhappy change al-  
“ ready caused to be shed! And how much  
“ more will it occasion to be wasted if you do

“ not allow your subjects to follow the religion  
“ handed down to them by their fathers !  
“ Without it we shall never have rest, and you  
“ will have neither kingdom nor subjects.”

This pathetic exhortation, amidst the dead and the dying, made a deep impression on the mind of the prince. It was enforced likewise by the empress, by his other wives, and by Basilides his son ; and Sufnée, at length, suffered to be extorted from him an edict which allowed liberty of conscience.

In a moment every thing was re-established. The ecclesiastics began to officiate in their usual manner, and administered the communion in both kinds ; circumcision was practised ; and the people broke the chaplets and other instruments of devotion which they had received from the missionaries. In the churches they chanted songs of thanksgiving, one of which concluded with the following words : “ Rejoice, sing hal-  
“ leluja ; the sheep of Ethiopia are delivered  
“ from the wolves of the West.” Owing either to grief or disease, the consequence of the fatigue to which he had been exposed by war, insurrection, and revolt, or rather to poison, as some have believed, Sufnée fell sick. During the time of his illness, the patriarch Mendez used his utmost endeavours to induce him to revoke his edict in favour of toleration ; but the dying prince plainly perceived, as is always the



case, that in this extremity all power would drop from his hands. "What can I do," said he to Mendez, "I have no longer an empire nor authority?" He died at the age of sixty-one, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, which would have been happy and glorious, say some authors, had the jesuits never entered his empire.

Rasilides,  
1652.

As a tree bent by force, when freed from its constraint, suddenly bends itself in a contrary direction, those who had been the foremost to subject themselves to the catholic church were the most eager to separate from it, and to efface, if possible, by demonstrations of zeal, the traces of their apostacy. Never were the catholics more violently persecuted. The patriarch Mendez endeavoured to support himself in his tottering condition. He claimed from the new emperor a fulfilment of his oath, and the promises made to the church: he, however, received no other answer than that he should deliver to an officer, sent for the purpose, all the fire-arms he had in his palace, and dismiss his colleagues and all the catholic priests. Those who concealed themselves and remained after this order were punished with death. The different attempts made to re-establish this mission were entirely fruitless. The result of them was, that they caused the empire of Abyssinia to be so closely shut against foreigners, that we are

entirely ignorant of the events which have taken place in it since that period. We know only that the hatred excited by the overbearing conduct of the jesuits extends among the Abyssinians to all Europeans of whatever nation or religion. They are all confounded under the general name of Franks, which they never pronounce without adding some imprecation or malediction.

#### COASTS OF THE RED SEA AND OF THE OCEAN.

The following reflexions were excited by inspecting, on a map, the countries which lie adjacent to Abyssinia. When geographers are embarrassed with any vacancy, occasioned by the errors of travellers, they fill it up with provinces of their own creation, which they erect into kingdoms. They raise mountains, plant forests, dig out beds for rivers, scatter huts or tents throughout the plains, and people cities with inhabitants. Next come the historians, who give to these nations manners, customs, and religion; and who then tell us that all these things are little known. This is nearly the case in regard to the coasts of the Red Sea, along the borders of Abyssinia, and beyond the Strait of Bab-el-mandel, comprehending the coasts of the Ocean and Zanguebar.

Barnagash is a poor and small kingdom, or the last province of Abyssinia, the king or go-

vernor of which lives in a miserable and wretched manner : we may, therefore, judge what the state of the people must be. Balou or Bali is inhabited by mahometans, enemies to the Abyssinians, who enrich themselves by plunder. De-kin and Dancali, on the coast of Abek, are inhabited by a people who are the allies of the Abyssinians, and as it were their factors. It was chiefly through their port, called Balyur, that the Europeans, invited by the naguhs, entered the kingdom. Ajan, near Cape Guardafui, on the Ocean, contains within its narrow but very long boundaries the kingdom of Adel. The inhabitants are white; but they become gradually browner towards the south. There are among them a great many negroes, and in the back part of the country Bedouin Arabs, all mahometans, mortal enemies of the Abyssinians, and interested in being so, because they enrich themselves by the plunder they take from them. They are no less hostile to the Europeans, against whom they carefully shut every entrance into Abyssinia, through a dread that this harassed empire might call in foreigners to defend it from their incursions. It is not, therefore, on account of its safety they are so vigilant, but that they may be better enabled to secure their prey.

The king of Adel is under the protection of the grand-seignior, but without being tributary.



His kingdom, which was formerly very extensive, contains several cities. It is said to have been founded by an Abyssinian prince, of the royal blood, who escaped from a prison in which he was confined. To maintain his power he became a mahometan. Being an apostate and persecuted, he had thus two motives for entertaining a mortal hatred to his former countrymen; and his hatred transmitted to his descendants is the more formidable as it is advantageous to them. Mangadoxo borders upon Adel. The capital of this kingdom is situated on a bay, formed by a river which is subject to an annual inundation. It is a place of considerable trade. The inhabitants are mahometans; and being at the same time brave are a scourge to all their neighbours. They make use of poisoned arrows. Ajan contains a republic called Brava. Seven brothers flying from the tyranny of a king of Arabia the Happy, to whom they were subjects, found on this point of land an asylum, which they transmitted to their descendants. The Portuguese, during their first expeditions, ravaged all this coast, and left behind them a terror which still subsists.

Zanguebar, which follows, contains thirty-eight kingdoms, bordered by twenty-one islands. This country is said to be covered with lakes and forests, which render the air unhealthful. The inhabitants are a ferocious, hardy, ignorant

people, who either go quite naked, or clothe themselves in skins. The greater part of the Caffres are black. They are extremely suspicious of strangers. We have, therefore, but an imperfect knowledge of these thirty-eight kingdoms, the number and properties of which are not fully ascertained. We have more authentic information respecting those which follow.

MELINDA.

Melinda, situated under the line, produces neither rice nor corn; but it has potatoes and fruits, various kinds of plants, pastures, and flocks in abundance. The capital, known by the same name, enjoys a favourable situation; is well built; and carries on a considerable trade in gold, copper, and quicksilver, ivory, and drugs, which it gives in exchange for stuffs and corn. The inhabitants are of all colours, and of all religions. They use circumcision, and go naked. The king's retinue is composed of women, who attend him with songs, and fill the air which he breathes with the odour of perfumes. All his actions, civil or domestic, and all resolutions respecting peace or war, are determined by the opinion of the *labis*, or soothsayers, who foretel future events by the entrails of a deer, which they consult in presence of the monarch. To prevent their falling into too great mistakes, they no doubt take care to have pre-

scribed to them what they ought to predict. No person is exempted from being called into a court of justice; not even the great lords, who may be accused with impunity. The king hears the cause seated on his throne, pronounces sentence, and retires with the criminal to an adjoining apartment, where the latter is obliged to acknowledge his fault in the most humiliating attitude: the mildness or severity of the punishment depends on the sincerity of his confession. His clothes are stripped off, he is stretched out on the ground, and the monarch gives him as many blows with his rod of justice as he thinks proper: he then rises, puts on his clothes, returns the king thanks, and as soon as he has kissed his feet, every thing is forgotten. He returns to the hall with a serene air; the king dismisses him in a friendly manner before his whole court; sends him back to his government, recommending to him to administer justice with fidelity; and causes him to be accompanied with the usual marks of honour. These princes, though formerly ill treated by the Portuguese, live with them at present on very good terms. The chiefs of Lamo, Pemba, Zauzibar, Quirimba, Amfia, Anifa, and many other countries, some of which are only five or six leagues in circumference, assume the title of kings. Some of them are tributary to Portugal.



## MONBAZA, QUILOA.

The capital of the kingdom of Monbáza is in an island. The houses are built in the Italian manner, with terraces on which people may walk from the one end of the town to the other. The Portuguese attacked this place on account of its being a convenient port, and took possession of it, but were guilty of so many flagrant acts of oppression, that they were expelled, or at least lost the citadel. They are now only tolerated; and live like the other nations who are invited hither by commerce. In this motly mixture of Moors and Caffres, whites and mulattoes, mahometans and pagans, it would be difficult to guess which were the primitive people. This kingdom was exposed to the incursions of the Imbis, a savage tribe in the interior part of Africa. They live merely by rapine; eat their prisoners, and even their relations, whom they knock on the head when they are sick, in order that they may regale on their flesh. Their favourite beverage is human blood. Skulls serve them as cups. When ready to engage in combat, they are preceded by herds of cattle followed by men bearing fire; the meaning of which is, that all the prisoners must expect to be roasted and devoured. Nothing can be so terrible as the fate of those who fall into the hands of these cannibals, and that of the country through

which they pass. Every one flies and conceals himself on their approach. The mahometans have attempted to convert them, in order that they might thus be civilized, or to destroy them, but they have succeeded in neither: all they have been able to do is to drive them from their neighbourhood: but they still sometimes make their appearance. These monsters worship as deities their horrid monarchs, who assume the title of emperors of the whole earth, and even brave heaven itself. When incommoded by the sun or the rain, they bend their bows, and discharge their arrows, accompanied with impotent imprecations against the sun and the firmament.

Quiloa, which stands in an island, is as well built as Monbaza. It is peopled with the same variety of nations; abounds with the same productions; and is enlivened by the same commerce. It has suffered more than Monbaza from the melancholy effects of the imperious sway of the Portuguese, who found there kings, whose history is preserved, and whose succession is known. These princes disdained to submit to foreigners, who came with their artillery to spread terror and desolation along their coasts: they resisted their attacks, but were overpowered. Their capital, after being plundered, fell a prey to the flames, notwithstanding the offers which the king made of becoming tributary to Portu-

gal, if his city was saved. Almeyda, the commander of the fleet, had it then in his possession. The monarch required hostages before he would consent to visit him, in order to hold a conference. The haughty Portuguese offered him his gauntlet. As this was refused, he wished to add also his helmet. None of these pledges being thought sufficient, the Portuguese soldiers, who were ready waiting with torches in their hands, darted them among the houses, on a signal given, and the city was consumed. It was, however, rebuilt, and is now well peopled. Monbaza and Quiloa have been oftener under the same monarch than separated.

#### MOZAMBIQUE.

Mozambique is a very small island, but a place of great utility to the Portuguese for touching at in their voyages to India. They find here all kinds of refreshments, which are procured from the continent, where they are produced in abundance: as for the island itself, it is entirely barren. It is said also to be only six musket-shots in length, and two in breadth: it is, therefore, almost covered by the important fortress which the Portuguese have constructed on it, both to defend the port, and to keep in subjection the petty kings of the continent, from whom they receive their provisions, and even water. In the



island there is but one small spring, which does not afford a sufficient supply of that necessary article. Gold and slaves are the principal objects of the trade with the coast, which is carried on by the Portuguese only in an indirect manner. As the negroes have no confidence in them, the exchanges are made by means of Moorish factors. The things most valued by the almost savage tribes of the interior parts are bells, knives, scissars, and all sorts of toys. Instances are known of their giving fifteen cows for a razor. It is certain that among these negroes there is no humanity: fathers sell their children, and children their fathers, mothers, and sisters. They carry on perpetual war with each other, and eat their prisoners: they do not, therefore, much dread slavery. A few bracelets, small rings of gold or ivory put under the lower and above the upper lip, to make them project, and render them large, with a few red streaks painted on the body, are the principal ornaments of the negroes of both sexes.

#### THE COAST OF SOFALA.

Sofala, the capital of which is also situated in an island, is still subject to Portugal. It is of the same utility, and attended with the same advantages, as Mozambique; but for the trade with the continent it is of the utmost importance. On account of the large quantity of gold

which Sofala furnishes, it is supposed to be the ancient Ophir of Solomon. When discovered by Anaga, the Portuguese admiral, it was governed by an old blind mahometan king, named Jusuf. The Portuguese having asked permission to erect there a fort, which, as they said, would be of great service to that prince, he pretended to believe them; but when the building was pretty far advanced, Musaph, his son-in-law, represented to him how dangerous it would be to suffer strangers to fortify themselves within his dominions. The blind prince, however, replied: "Would you have me attack these  
"strangers at the moment of their arrival, when  
"they are in good health, and well provided  
"with every thing necessary? Suffer them to  
"remain at peace for some time; the heat and  
"the atmosphere of our climate, to which they  
"are not accustomed, will destroy one half of  
"them, and render the other sick; we may  
"then attack them with advantage, and shall  
"get possession of the fort which they have built  
"for us." Musaph's impatience would not suffer the father-in-law to follow out his plan to the end. He was compelled to attack the fort; but the Portuguese, as he had foreseen, though reduced to a small number, being still too vigorous, not only defended themselves, but pursued Jusuf to his palace, where he was put to death. Since that period, they have kept the

fort, which is still in their possession, and the kings pay them tribute. It is even believed that the last sovereign was a Portuguese: perhaps some hidalgo of a mixed breed, who did not disdain to shade his brows with an African crown. In this kingdom there are some traces of police establishments. The severity of the laws against adultery is carried so far, that a man found sitting on the same sofa, or the same mat, with a married woman, is subjected to the punishment of death. The people have great respect for the memory of their relations, and preserve their bones with every mark of veneration. All kinds of religion are prevalent among them; but the primitive inhabitants are negroes.

#### MONOMOTAPA.

The vast empire of Monomotapa, which, in many respects, may be compared with that of Abyssinia, is said to be from seven to eight hundred leagues in circumference. The air, in general, is good, and the soil fertile. The inhabitants are exposed in some places to intense heat, and in others to extreme cold; for while the plains are scorched by the sun, the mountains are covered with snow. It is observed, with some degree of astonishment, that these people, though at a distance from the tropic, are real negroes; whereas in the districts of Lybia and America, where the sun is vertical, the inha-



bitants have neither a black colour, nor woolly hair. Young persons of both sexes go almost entirely naked, having no covering except what modesty dictates: the rest leave their bodies bare as far as the girdle. Polygamy is usual among them. The first woman whom a husband marries is always mistress of his family, and her children inherit his property. It is not allowed, even at court, to wear stuffs of foreign manufacture, lest they should be attended with some secret charm. This political law has, in all appearance, been supported by superstition, in order that it might be more strictly observed.

The emperor's retinue is splendid. When he appears in public, on days of ceremony, he wears a small spade suspended by his side, the emblem of agricultural industry; and has in each hand an arrow, one of which is the symbol of punishment, and the other of protection. The government is exceedingly mild. There are no taxes, and the emperor requires nothing from his subjects but a few days' labour. He even takes care to supply the labourers with provisions, though he is not bound to do so; and hence it happens, that every one, instead of shunning, is eager to discharge his task. The children of the tributary princes or great officers of state are educated at court, where they are inspired with fidelity to the sovereign, and serve as pledges for that of

their parents. Every year the monarch sends to all the provinces an officer, on whose arrival the people every-where extinguish their fires; but they receive from his hands something to rekindle them. A refusal to conform to this usage is considered as an act of rebellion. This ceremony, therefore, is like an oath of allegiance. These monarchs are greatly beloved by their subjects, whose affection they take care to preserve by frequent marks of benevolence. When the king drinks, sneezes, or coughs, one of the grandees present calls out with a loud voice: "Pray for the health and prosperity of the emperor." The same words are repeated from mouth to mouth; and this invitation is thus propagated even to the extremity of the empire.

The administration of justice is speedy and severe: one mode is by a purgative draught, which is employed as the water of bitterness was among the Jews. Those on whom it produces no effect are declared innocent. The capital is beautiful, and contains an empress and nine queens, each of whom has a distinct court. One of them is the protectress of the Portuguese, and another of the Moors. All the rest have each some superintendence of the like kind. Harvest is a period of festivity, and the emperor never fails to attend it. When he is prevented by war or other business, the empress presides in his

stead. Care is taken that the court may be always accompanied by a number of rope-dancers, musicians, and buffoons, to amuse the populace: the chiefs of these bands are men of importance. There are here regular armies, which are called out in turns. One province of the country is supposed to be inhabited by amazons. However this may be, it is certain that there are always in the armies bodies of women. Their arms are bows and arrows, javelins, sabres, cutlasses, poniards, and light-battle-axes, exceedingly sharp: these they manage with great dexterity; because they are taught to use them from their infancy. The emperor prefers them to his other troops for guarding his person. He has also a pack of two hundred dogs, whom he considers as not the least faithful of his protectors.

Among the dignitaries of his court, the chief are: the governor of the kingdom; the master of his household, who has the singular privilege of naming the empress on the decease of the reigning one, but in regard to this point he and the emperor understand each other; the captain of the musicians; the chief of the soothsayers; the keeper of the pharmaceutic articles—the oil utensils, and ingredients which the chief soothsayer employs;—and the porter. The two chiefs of the kitchen are generally princes of the blood, and the cooks are all people of quality. They



never serve after they are twenty years of age. It is supposed that before that period they have never known a woman: if they deceived in regard to this point, they would be exposed to the severest punishment. The emperor is never seen while at his meals. It appears that the ancient religion was paganism, but without polytheism and idolatry; or rather a kind of theism, mixed with vague notions of Christianity, and superstitions which, however, are not disgraced by inhumanity. The foretelling of future events by the casting of lots is punished. They acknowledge a sovereign being, whom they call the creator and governor of the world. They pay a great many honours to a virgin; and have temples and convents dedicated to her, in which they devote their daughters to celibacy, as among the catholics, the Greeks, and the Abyssinians. It is believed that they have long had intercourse with the last mentioned people; and it is said that the two empires were once united, though they are at a great distance from each other. They invoke the dead, and pray for them. One of their emperors caused himself to be baptized by a jesuit; but he abandoned the faith when informed that he must absolutely renounce a plurality of women. The Portuguese are in possession of the gold mines, which are under the protection of the forts they have been permitted to construct. Gold is found also among

the sand at the surface of the earth. No country is more abundant in elephants. There are ostriches in it as large as oxen; but these oxen, no doubt, must be of small size.

The history of the last emperor with whom we are acquainted is as follows. A bloody war took place between the children of Fami-gar-Bachi, who at the age of forty-seven left sixty-four sons. They were all destroyed in the contest except three. Two of these agreed to reign each six months in turn. The first who occupied the throne dispatched the second, and the former was killed by one of his uncles named Nahi; the third made his escape to a distant country, where he purchased a small estate, which he cultivated with his own hands, and where he lived in retirement. He married, and had a son named Alfondi. This prince, as he grew up, acquired the love and excited the admiration of all those around him by his modesty and the gentleness of his disposition. In the course of time he signalized his courage and intrepidity in hunting elephants, lions, tigers, and other ferocious animals.

Having heard of a war kindled up in Monomotapa, between Nahi his grand uncle, of whose relationship he was ignorant, and a neighbouring king, he provided himself with arms and horses, and, at the head of a choice body of troops, marched to offer his services to the em-

peror. Alfondi soon distinguished himself by exploits, which attracted the attention of the whole army. He excited, above all, the notice of his grand-uncle, who gave him the command of a body of troops, with which he displayed his military talents so much, that Nahi thought he could not do better than to put him at the head of the army. In the course of six months the young general gained so many battles that he compelled the enemy to sue for peace. In order to reward his services, the emperor gave him the princess his daughter in marriage, without having the least suspicion of his real birth. Alfondi was equally ignorant of it himself. By a sentiment extremely natural he invited his father to be a witness of his good fortune. The old monarch recognized in his son-in-law the nephew whose throne he occupied. He resigned the sceptre to him with pleasure, and the new king transferred it to his son. He was crowned with his spouse amidst the acclamations of the people, whose esteem he never ceased to merit by his justice and beneficence. It would not be difficult, with the help of a few embellishments, to convert this history into an interesting romance.

## MONÆMUGI.

Vast empires may be easily cut out in the deserts which lie remote from the coasts. Monæ-



mugi is one of those kingdoms, which the imagination may extend as far as it chooses, without being checked by any certain bounds, except in descending towards the sea, where it is bordered by Monomotapa, and the other countries already described. We are indebted to the intermediate nations for every thing we know respecting it. The accounts given of this kingdom pass from mouth to mouth among the curious Europeans, as their riches pass from hand to hand; but neither of them are thus transmitted without alteration. We however know that it is an absolute monarchy, and that it contains idolaters, mahometans, and caffres. By the last is understood infidels, and people destitute of religion. By caffres the Europeans understand also negroes, who form the greater part of the population of Monœmugi.

There are found here also, under the name of Giagas, the Imbis or the same savage people who harass Mombaza and Quiloa. It is not improbable, that they may be the same also as the Galli, who strike so much terror into the Abyssinians. It is the centre of Africa, which gives birth to these monsters, along with lions and tigers, who equally thirst after blood. The emperor of Monœmugi, much to his shame, employs these cannibals against a republic of Amazons, who often make incursions into the southern frontiers of his states. He keeps these

female warriors in check by means of the Giagas; not because they dread their valour, but because they fear their barbarity, and are apprehensive of being roasted alive by that diabolical race; so that when their troops engage the contest is dreadful, and no quarter is given on either side. This appears to be an episode in the romance of Alfondi.

## CAFFRARIA.

There is no country properly called Caffraria; but as this word signifies the country of infidels, the name of Caffraria may be justly given to those vast regions which extend from the Hottentots to the equinoctial line, or beyond it, as the inhabitants are idolaters, abandoned to the strangest and most inhuman superstitions, and to forcery, much more than any other nation in the world. The cruelty and ferocity of these savages, added to the excessive heat and bad air of the climate, deterred the missionaries from risking their lives and their labours by going thither. Few have penetrated very far into the country. Of those who attempted to do so, some soon died by the unwholesomeness of the climate, the bad nourishment, and the dreadful fatigue to which they were exposed; and the rest were discouraged from remaining among these savages by the little success they experienced. On their return they published such

shocking accounts of their sufferings, that no more missionaries were sent out: and hence it happens that we are so little acquainted with the interior parts of this vast country.

#### HOTTENTOTS.

The extremity of Africa is inhabited by the Hottentots, an indigenous nation, who must not be confounded with the caffres. They are a different people, who have neither the same colour nor the same manners. They seem to have some notions of the deluge. We may suppose them to be the progeny of the ancient Troglodytes, descended from Abraham by his wife Kethura. Their language is a compound of the most extraordinary sounds. It resembles the clucking of turkey-cocks when they fight, mixed with the chattering of the magpie and the screaming of the owl. The ear can distinguish in it nothing articulate. It is a kind of monster among languages. The pronounciation depends upon certain impulses of the tongue against the palate, and certain vibrations of such a strange nature, that it is impossible for any but those who have been accustomed to them from their infancy to perform them. It is equally difficult for the Hottentots to learn our languages, which they never speak well. Their country, which is mountainous, contains beautiful meadows in the defiles, and even on the summits,



watered by streams of the purest water in the world. The sea around them is well stored with fish. These people swim in an upright posture, as if walking, and make use of their arms as a balancing pole. This is a singularity peculiar to them which ought to be imitated.

The Hottentot nation, which is very considerable, consists entirely of wandering tribes, as every pastoral nation must be; but they wander only within a certain space; that is to say, the Hottentots, after having exhausted one district of their land, remove their huts to another, and return to the former, which they find in a little time covered with new grass. By these means the different tribes are never confounded. They carry on war against each other. Their quarrels, when any arise, are determined by neighbours. They give mutual assistance to each other to repel a common enemy; and the Dutch have sometimes experienced, to their great loss, the force of such leagues.

When a child is born, they wash it with the juice of figs, which they suffer its body to imbibe in the sun; and afterwards anoint it with grease, or grease mixed with butter. The father or mother gives it the name of some animal for which they have the greatest fondness; and as soon as weaned, they teach it to smoke. The Hottentots are of a good stature; they are straight and well made, and from five feet and a half to

six feet in height. The women are smaller: their complexion is of an olive colour. They have large heads, lively eyes, a flat nose, thick lips, teeth<sup>1</sup> white as ivory, hair like that of negroes and exceedingly black, and large broad feet. Those of the women, however, are small and delicate. Nature, as if she wished to spare their modesty, has given them, according to the account of some travellers, a piece of hard skin, which hangs down from the lower part of the belly, and forms a kind of small apron: a singularity which must be exclusively peculiar to the Hottentot race.

There is not a more indolent being in the world than a Hottentot: "To think," says he, "is to labour; and to labour, is the scourge of life." These people, therefore, spend the greater part of it in idleness, and the most astonishing ignorance. On certain occasions, however, they can exert the utmost activity. In running they surpass the fleetest horse; make use of the bow with great dexterity; and discharge stones as well as their assagays and *rackums*, or sticks, with great force and precision. They are distinguished for their affection to each other, their hospitality and their compassion towards the unfortunate and strangers: but this natural benevolence—such is the force of early prejudices—is belied by their barbarous conduct to decrepid old men, were they even their fathers.

When a man has attained to that state, the son, or nearest relation, assembles all the male inhabitants of the kraal or hamlet; represents to them the miserable condition of the old man; and requires that he may be banished from among them. This demand is never refused. They then place him upon a riding-ox, and, followed by a great part of the inhabitants, conduct him to a hut erected on purpose in some remote and solitary spot. They deposit a few articles of provision within his reach, and then depart; thus leaving him to perish of age and hunger, if he is not devoured by savage animals. When a woman brings forth twins, they always put to death one of them. Another custom, no less whimsical, is, that a Hottentot, when he comes of age, and is received among the men, must beat his mother, to shew that he is no longer a child.

Their dress consists of a mantle which they call *krofs*, made of the skin of some animal well rubbed over with cows' dung, butter, or grease, either fresh or rancid, as to them both are equally agreeable. It may be said, in general, that this ointment is their real covering; for on all solemn occasions and days of ceremony, the application of these greasy substances, with which they make stripes on their bodies and besprinkle them with soot, chalk, or a red powder named *buchu*, forms their principal ornament. The men go



bare-headed ; but the women wear a kind of caps. They consider it highly elegant to suspend blown bladders from their hair. The covering of their legs, which also distinguishes them from the men, consists of the bowels of animals newly killed bound round their ancles in the form of half-boots. As a badge of heroism, they place, in great ceremony, around the neck of a man who has rendered himself famous by killing some ferocious beast, the bloody intestines of the animal or of any other, and leave them there till they become putrid, so that they may be smelt at a distance. One mark of their cleanliness is, to carry always in their hand the tail of a fox or wild cat, which serves them as a handkerchief. They live merely on flesh ; pork, fish without scales, hares, and rabbits, are forbidden to the men by their traditions. The two latter animals are allowed to the women ; but both sexes eat with great avidity old hides, from which they tear off the hair after they have softened them in water. When broiled on the coals they form a delicious morsel. They do not even neglect their own vermin. They never make use of salt or spices. Their usual drink is water ; cows' milk for the men, and that of sheep for the women. A man never eats with his wife, but on the day of his wedding. Both sexes are passionately fond of brandy and tobacco.

Their hamlets are called *kraals*. They have

each an hereditary chief, as well as a general chief of the tribe who is called *konque*. The latter commands the army; directs all their negotiations; presides in the council, and judges civil and criminal causes brought before him by appeal from the other kraals. Their huts are constructed of very thick mats, made of rushes, which are manufactured by the women. They are erected by the men, who make all the household utensils as well as their arms, when they choose to give themselves the trouble. They manage metals with dexterity; are good potters, and remarkably expert in the care of cattle and sheep. The quality of doctor to these valuable animals is a dignity in the kraal, in the same manner as that of midwife. The latter is chosen by the women. A third dignity, superior to the other two, is master of the religious ceremonies. The person invested with it solemnizes marriages and funerals, and performs the operation of depriving the males of one testicle. All the men, under pain of death, must be subjected to this cruel and singular law, between the age of eight and nine. They pretend that to the want of the left testicle they are indebted for their great agility in running; but it is supposed to be a religious ceremony, for which they can assign no reason.

It is difficult to describe the whimsical ceremonies which accompany their marriages, their

funerals, and the principal actions of their life—such as being received among the number of the men, or being declared a hero. In regard to the nuptial ceremony, the men squat down in a circle, and the women do the same at some distance. The priest, or *furi*, then enters the circle of the men, and besprinkles the future spouse with his urine; after which he proceeds to the bride and does the same thing, going backwards and forwards from the one to the other three times, if his reservoir holds out. While besprinkling them he repeats the following form of prayer: “May you long live happy  
“together! may you have a son before the end  
“of the year, and may that son be a comfort to  
“your old age! may he be a man of courage and  
“a great hunter!” At funerals the same ceremony is performed by two old men, one of whom besprinkles the male circle and the other the female. Before a child can be admitted to the rank of the men he must be examined and have the consent of the kraal. When approved, he is besprinkled, amidst a circle of the male sex, by an old man who addresses him in the following manner: “All thy words, thoughts, and actions,  
“must in future be worthy of a man who has  
“attained to the years of maturity. May thy  
“good fortune long attend thee! increase and  
“multiply. May thy beard soon appear!  
“Avoid the company of thy mother, under pain



“ of being banished from the society of the “ men.” Before this period the young man has frequented the company only of the women, who teach all the customs, laws, ceremonies, practices, and traditions of the nation. They are the depositaries of them. In a word, to establish the courage of a young man and raise him to the dignity of a worthy he must be besprinkled also by some warrior decorated with the heroic ruff. All those subjected to this ceremony not only receive the sacred asperision with gravity and respect, but they hasten to rub it over their bodies, making furrows in the grease with their nails in order that the water may reach their skin, as if anxious that a drop of it might not be lost.

The religion of the Hottentots is very little known. When asked any questions on this subject they observe an obstinate silence and return no answer. No people are more bigotted to their customs and traditions. It is impossible to convert one of them. We know that they believe in a supreme being whom they call the God of Gods. They offer to him neither presents nor victims ; but they make sacrifices to the moon, which they honour as an inferior deity, the sensible image of an invisible God. They adore, with profound veneration, a certain insect or beetle, which is peculiar to their country. Its back and belly are green with red and white

spots; it has two wings, and its head is furnished with two horns. As soon as it is observed, the whole village cover their bodies with *buchu*, begin to dance and to sing, and make a noise with the *gom-gom*, which is of two kinds, the large and small. This instrument is composed of a calabash, and emits a hoarse hollow sound. Happy, thrice happy, is the fortunate mortal on whom the beneficent insect alights! He becomes himself a kind of idol or an object of worship.

They believe in the immortality of the soul, and that after death it hovers around its former mansion. For this reason they take care to leave entire the hut of a deceased person, his furniture, and his arms. As soon as a man or a woman dies, they abandon the spot, and decamp. They offer up sacrifices to a malignant deity, named *Tonquoa*, merely on chance, without knowing whether they have offended him; but as they believe that he treats as offences whatever he thinks proper, they endeavour to secure his favour. Before they enter the water to cross a river, they always throw some of it over their body. In general, before they attempt any difficult or hazardous enterprize, they assume a grave, serious, and thoughtful air. Singing and dancing form part of all their ceremonies, except those of marriage. Polygamy is allowed, but it is not common. They admit of divorce, and pu-

nish adultery. They have some traditions, which they preserve with great care. One of them is, that their first parents offended the supreme Being so much, that he cursed them and their posterity, and hardened their hearts. Another is, that when God sent them to their present country, they entered it by a window. The name of the man was Noh, that of the woman Hinguoh.

The Dutch purchased from the Hottentots all the land which they possess at the Cape. They paid the price with honesty, and fulfilled with scrupulous exactness all the conditions by which the rights and limits of the two people were regulated. Some evil-minded persons, however, involved them in hostilities; but both parties found so little advantage in war, that they soon entered into a treaty of peace. It seems to be established on the basis of confidence and mutual benefit; and, of course, must be lasting. The planters have extended a great way into the country. They are rivals to the natives, not only in their care of cattle, but in what concerns agriculture, which the Hottentots have at length learned not to neglect.

#### BENGUELA.

We have already entered the country of monsters, and shall now continue to advance. Un-



happy human race, to what excesses may it not abandon itself!

The kingdom of Benguela is one of the most unwholesome in the world. The stagnant waters, exposed to the action of the scorching sun, soon become putrid, and the earth even poisons its productions. It must, however, be confessed, that the whole coast is not cursed with the same evils; but the inhabitants of the countries exposed to them are obliged to bring from other districts whatever they eat or drink. Notwithstanding this precaution, the small number who escape the malignity of the climate have a resemblance to spectres rather than to human beings. Their voice is so broken that one might be induced to believe that they voluntarily confine their breath between their teeth. Yet, as if the scourges of nature were not sufficient, these negroes employ the little industry they possess to augment their evils. Besides violence, there is no stratagem which they do not employ to surprize their countrymen, in order that they may sell them as slaves. Their women, accomplices in this horrid robbery, seduce gallants by caresses; suffer themselves to be caught by their husbands, and cause these victims of lascivious passion to be transferred from their arms into chains. They are liars, assassins, and thieves, destitute of morality or religion, and have not a

single virtue to make up for these vices ; so that we might be tempted not to pity them on account of the ravages occasioned in their country by the Giagas.

These people, called also Jajas, if we may judge from their ferocity, are in all probability the same as the Imbis and the Galli. A traveller, who resided several years among them, has made us acquainted with their customs. The title given to their chief is great Giaga. He has twenty thousand men, under the command of twelve captains. He never undertakes any thing without consulting the devil, whom they call *mokisso*. This ceremony continues a whole day: he is assisted by fifty women and two forcerers, who make a variety of gestures around him, and repeat certain incantations. They dye his forehead, temples, and belly, with powders, consecrated by their magical words over a large fire ; put into his hand his *casingola*, or hatchet ; and say to him : “ Go, march against the enemy ; spare no one, for thy *mokisso* will attend thee.” His first exploit is to split the head of a young boy, who is brought to him for that purpose. This boy is followed by four men, two of whom he butchers himself ; the other two are put to death by his orders without the camp : a general entertainment then takes place ; and repasts are given at which human flesh is not spar-

ed. They have no idols ; but it is said that they often adore their *mokisso*.

The dress of a great Giaga is as follows: he has long hair tied behind, and intermixed with shells; a girdle made of the eggs of the ostrich, and a plain *pagne* of stuff, manufactured from the fibres of the palm-tree. His body, marked with various figures, is every day greased with human fat. He wears in his nose and ears pendants of copper two inches in length. The Giagas, as well as the inhabitants of Benguela, set a greater value upon copper than on gold: some of their women have collars of that metal which weigh seventeen pounds. The guard of the grand Giaga is composed of women. When he drinks they throw themselves on their knees, and sing and clap their hands. Every day he gives an exhortation to his troops. If any of them turn their backs on the enemy they are condemned to death, and eat by their comrades. However laborious may have been their march, whenever they encamp they fortify it with abatis of trees and dry hedges. A particular corps of very robust men is destined for this purpose. The huts are disposed in regular order quite close to each other; and they place at the door their bows, arrows, and darts, so that on the least alarm every one can be completely armed in a moment.

The Giagas do not permit their wives to rear



their children:—they inter them as soon as they are born: but the motive for this strange practice is not known. Is it for the purpose of extinguishing among them all natural affection, and that their women, who are as warlike as the men, may accustom themselves not to be moved by sentiments of pity? They recruit their numbers by young men whom they carry off in the course of their expeditions. They put around their necks a collar as the mark of their servitude, which they retain till they have brought in the head of an enemy. Nothing has so much influence on their minds as the hope of being delivered from the collar, that badge of slavery; and to attain to this honour these young men brave every danger with the most intrepid courage. When a man of distinction dies, the two wives for whom he had the greatest affection are placed at his sides after their arms have been broken, and in that manner are buried along with him. If they are not suffocated by the earth thrown into the grave they expire amidst lingering torments.

These barbarians make war only for the sake of plunder; they never stop but to consume their booty, and when it is exhausted they recommence their operations: the worst is, that what they cannot carry off they destroy, burn, or demolish, leaving nothing behind them but a desert. Unless fatigued by their expeditions,

or tired of bloodshed and slaughter, they shew no desire of settling, as they have done in the more fertile plains of Benguela. It may be readily conceived that with such guests the inhabitants of the country are in no very agreeable situation; they are, therefore, scarcely ever mentioned: we know only that they have some government, and that their constitution is monarchical.

#### CONGO.

In following the coast we arrive at Congo. Europeans in this country might believe themselves at home, because they find here counties, marquisesates, and duchies. There however remains only a part—nearly a half—of this empire, from which provinces acknowledged at present as empires have been detached. The king takes the title of *mani*, which signifies lord. Thus *mani Congo* is the lord of Congo. Besides the great losses this country has suffered in regard to the surrounding provinces, those which remain, more towards the centre, have, under the protection of the Europeans, often given proofs of their independence.

Congo is one of the most fertile countries in the world. The grass here is so high and thick that it affords shelter to the ferocious animals, and by these means becomes the source of great danger to the natives. The traveller never ad-

vances a step without dreading to see start up before him a lion, tiger, or some other ravenous animal, besides the serpents and venomous insects which conceal themselves among the long grass. The inhabitants know no other means of delivering themselves from these pests, than by setting fire to the grass when it is dry. The animals, driven from their retreat by the flames, become furious, and throw themselves on those they meet, however numerous. Travellers, who observe the conflagration at a distance, have no other resource than to ascend a tree as fast as possible, in which the negroes are exceedingly expert; but the Europeans, less accustomed to such manœuvres, are obliged to carry with them ladders of ropes, which their negroes make fast to the branches. There are two harvests in the course of the year, and yet famines take place, through the indolence and inexperience of these people, who can never be persuaded to store up a sufficiency to supply them from one season to another. They have, however, grain and nourishing roots, the preservation of which would be attended with very little labour or difficulty; but being placed in a country which forms a kind of terrestrial paradise, on account of the beauty of its flowers, the favour of its fruits, the abundance of its fish, and the multiplication of the cattle with which it abounds, they never think of any thing but enjoyment.



As they are accustomed to the heat of their burning climate, it neither chagrins nor torments them.

Congo is exceedingly populous notwithstanding the multitude of slaves drawn from it every year, but the women are remarkably prolific. It is pretended that without this perpetual emigration, without wars, and the mortality occasioned by epidemical diseases, and without famines, it would be overstocked with inhabitants, who would devour each other. We must not expect to find here an extensive trade; the whole amounts only to a little barter among the negroes for the most urgent necessities of life. If they have mines of gold, silver, copper, and other metals, as they boast, they never employ them. Their money consists of small shells named *zembis*, which are fished up in the Bamba: they are current, not only in Congo, but in the neighbouring kingdoms.

It is curious to hear the reasoning of a Congo negro, when he sits on his mat smoking his pipe, covered with a few wretched rags, and scorched by the perpendicular rays of the sun: "Other countries," says he, "are the workmanship of angels, mine is that of God himself; my king is the richest, wisest, and most powerful of monarchs; my countrymen are the noblest and happiest people in the universe. Why talk to me of the mag-

“ nificence of the courts of your monarchs in  
“ Europe and Asia; of their immense revénues,  
“ the grandeur of their palaces, the opulence  
“ and felicity of their subjects, and of the great  
“ progress they have made in the arts, sciences,  
“ and manufactures? All this, even if true, is  
“ far below the dignity and the splendour of  
“ my sovereign, and his kingdom. There can  
“ be only one Congo in the world; all the rest  
“ was created for the glory of our monarch, and  
“ the happiness of his subjects.

“ The sea pays us a continual tribute of  
“ zembis; while other nations are obliged to  
“ dig the mountains, and to break the rocks, in  
“ order to extract gold and silver, which are  
“ only the excrements of the earth. What  
“ but the poverty and the sterility of your  
“ country can induce you to expose yourselves  
“ to so many labours and dangers to come and  
“ traffic with us? What need have I of your  
“ stuffs, and all the produce of your manufac-  
“ tures? They cost you great labour to make  
“ them, while I am enjoying repose. Your  
“ shoes I can do without; for my feet, rendered  
“ callous, are neither burnt by the sand nor  
“ wounded by the stones. Of what use to me  
“ are your hats? My head is defended by my  
“ hair, which is impervious to the rays of the  
“ sun. Your mattresses, your carpets, and other  
“ articles of the like kind, would serve only to

“ expose me to more heat. I sleep in tranquillity  
“ on the bare ground; and when the friendly ze-  
“ phyr arise, the intervention of a wall, or of a  
“ piece of cloth extended to serve as a tent,  
“ does not rob me of that gift of nature. If  
“ drenched by the rain, I only shake myself and  
“ am soon dry. My wives procure me slaves,  
“ and with those whom I sell I purchase every  
“ thing not supplied by my small field, which is  
“ cultivated by my women. I buy, in the like  
“ manner, my domestic utensils, when I am not  
“ acquainted with the art of making them.  
“ While I indulge in enjoyment, the price of  
“ my children furnishes me with pipes, tobacco,  
“ and brandy, which rejoice my heart; and with  
“ other women, who bring me other slaves, by  
“ whom I am enriched.”

As the capuchins one day entered their church at St. Salvador, which is the capital of the country, they saw a negro sending forth loud cries, stamping on the ground with his feet, and twisting his arms like a person in despair. On their running up to him to enquire the cause of his distress, he replied; “ Alas! I had bro-  
“ thers, a sister, a father, a mother, a wife, and  
“ children. Unhappy wretch! I have sold them  
“ all, and I have none left of my family by  
“ whom I can make money.” The good fathers, in great surprize, began to remonstrate with him, and to shew how much he violated



reason and nature by this excess of inhumanity : upon which he replied : “ I have done nothing “ but what has been practised at all times in “ this country.—What crime have I committed “ in selling them ? I have only prevented them “ from serving me in the same manner.” Though christianity, which was established here about the end of the fifteenth century, has lessened this practice, it is far from being entirely abolished. The Europeans quiet their conscience, in regard to this infamous traffic, by saying, that if they did not purchase them they would be sold to others : but these others would not carry them from their native land to subject them in America to a kind of life contrary to their early habits ; and were they left in their own country, even though in a state of slavery, their condition would be preferable on account of the general indolence of the people. No purchase, therefore, of this kind can be made without remorse, except that of the prisoners of war taken by the Jagas or other monsters, because by these means they are rescued from a cruel death : but the greater number are not of this sort. Besides, there is a highly criminal inhumanity in those planters, who rescue these unhappy wretches from the butchering Jagas only to subject them to a continuance and excess of labour which renders their life worse than death.

Before the introduction of christianity, the religion of Congo was a monstrous compound of idolatry and superstition, with the most absurd ceremonies, and the most detestable customs. They acknowledged a supreme being who created their country, but who abandons all things in this lower world to the government of a great number of inferior deities. Some of these preside over the air, and others over fire, the sea, the earth, drought, rain, heat, and cold, men and women, barrenness, famine; in a word, over all blessings and evils. The *gangas*, or priests, specify to their proselytes the particular domains of each of these gods, in order to direct them in their oblations; but they do not assign to them any established form. By one they are represented as an animal, by another as a tree, a stone, or some grotesque idol, rudely carved. Their worship consists in genuflexions, fumigations, and offerings, which are of advantage to the *gangas*. They are supposed to have the power of producing fertility, banishing tempests, and healing the sick. They are said to know also what occasions a person's death: for these people imagine that no one dies naturally, but that all men leave the world through the malice of some enemy. No doubt is entertained that the *gangas* can point out a forcerer, and this affords them an excellent opportunity of being revenged of their enemies, and of freeing the

earth from unbelievers. This abominable notion is the source of eternal discord and murder.

The chief of the gangas, called *chalombe*, enjoys so great authority, that the governor of the province where he resides, in order that he may be received and live there in tranquillity, is obliged to purchase his friendship and protection. No one is allowed to enter his house without permission, lest some imprudent stranger should defile the sacred fire which he preserves in it. When he removes to a distance, to remain any time, it is a capital offence for the negroes to have intercourse with their wives or concubines till his return. He enjoys in abundance every advantage, convenience, and pleasure of life; but, like Damocles, he always beholds the sword suspended over his head. He must not die a natural death; such a misfortune would occasion the ruin of the whole world: to prevent this fatal catastrophe, when he falls sick, or becomes too old, he is knocked on the head, or strangled.

The greater part of the christians of Congo have nothing of their religion but the name. They seem to be entirely unacquainted with the doctrines and fundamental principles of the gospel. Others respect them so little that, besides their lawful wives, they do not hesitate to keep a number of concubines. Many of them, who make a show of carrying chaplets and



croffes, have, concealed under their clothes, talismans and amulets. These irregularities, so contrary to christianity, arise in a great measure from the depravation of the Portuguese, who by their manners disgrace the religion they profess, and set the worst examples before the negroes, who are too much disposed to imitate them. They are owing also to the want of instruction. The few priests who go from Portugal are not sufficient to teach the natives; and those of the country are too ignorant. There is only one bishop in the whole kingdom. The churches are badly constructed, have very few ornaments, and the ceremonies are rarely accompanied with that pomp and splendour which render them so venerable in the catholic temples. Christianity, in this country, is therefore of a disfigured and degraded kind, the external part of which is not sufficiently striking to supplant in the mind deep-rooted superstitions.

All the lands of Congo belong to the king. He derives from them a tribute which he augments as they pass from one hand to another; but this practice is the ruin of agriculture. The zimbis and fines, together with the presents received from governors, who extort large sums from the people, form the whole of his revenue. That of the lands is received by the dukes, who transmit it to court. Their dishonesty or open refusal to give up what they have once got into

their hands, often occasions war. No person is elected king except a prince of the royal family ; but it is of no importance whether he be of the nearest or the most distant branch. The choice generally falls upon him who has taken the precaution to bring most troops to the spot where the electors assemble, or to secure the election beforehand by presents. As soon as they have agreed, they convoke all the grandees of the kingdom in a plain near the capital. The assembly then repair to the cathedral, where there are two arm-chairs, one for the bishop, and the other for the chief of the electors. The latter is surrounded by the candidates, who are yet ignorant on whom the choice will fall, and wait with impatience to hear his name proclaimed.

The chief of the electors, however, is in no great haste ; but makes a long speech on the duties of royalty, which he at length concludes by declaring the name of the successful candidate. He then descends from his seat, takes the elected sovereign by the hand and presents him to the bishop, before whom he falls down on his knees. The prelate harangues in his turn ; exhorts him above all to be a zealous defender of the catholic church ; makes him take an oath to that effect ; conducts him to the throne, and places the crown on his head. The air then resounds with the acclamations of the people and the sound of musical instruments. Some days after, the mo-

narch performs two important ceremonies, the first of which consists in his giving a solemn benediction to all the people, and the second in investing the grandees with the principal dignities and fiefs of his empire.

For the benediction, a throne is erected in the most elevated part of a large square, from which the prince can see every thing, and be seen himself by all the spectators. If there be any one among the ministers or nobility who has incurred his displeasure, he is driven from the circle as unworthy of his benediction: this is a convenient method to get rid of those who have offended him, as there is no room for explanation or resistance. The people fall with fury on the disgraced object of the monarch's resentment, and drag him about with so much violence, and use him so ill, that he seldom escapes destruction. When the assembly is composed only of faithful subjects, the king extends his hands, and wishes them every kind of happiness: the people then testify their joy and gratitude by loud shouts and the clapping of hands. The distribution of the fiefs is made with the same pomp. Should those who are disappointed in their hopes of receiving the dignities they wish for venture to shew the least signs of discontent, they would not be better treated by the assembly than those who not being in favour are so imprudent as to make their appearance during this solemnity.



On these occasions, as well as on all others, the kings of Congo appear with the most splendid retinue. One singularity which renders the court numerous is, that as few persons, even among the great, can read or write, they are obliged, if the orders issued by the sovereign are in the least complicated, to receive them in person : thus there is always a crowd : and from the inclinations of the body, genuflexions, and other protestations of submission, used in the country, one might be induced to take them for a band of slaves.

The queen, who has the title of *manibombaba*, is the sovereign's only lawful wife. Being mistress of all the other women, she has always around her a great many young females, who are not more rigid in their morals than their mistress. The king always finds a variety among them sufficient to gratify his taste. He also keeps concubines publicly, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his confessor and of the missionaries.

The description given of his troops during the general review, which takes place every year, in the month of July, is singularly curious. It is attended by all the princes and nobility of his court; and every foldier is ambitious of appearing on that occasion to the best advantage. The reader may judge from what follows how far this is the case. Some are armed with bows and arrows of different sizes; others have large swords,

daggers, and cutlasses; some have no other arms or clothes than long targets; some are covered from the girdle to the knees with the skins of divers animals, and others have their face and bodies painted with different figures. The more monstrous their appearance, the more warlike they imagine themselves to be. Those who are not rich enough to procure a large sword of steel get one of hard wood. Their colours consist, in general, of dirty tattered rags. Their arms, formed of brass and steel, are half eat away with rust, and those of wood are badly made and badly painted. To complete the picture, invalids, both old and young, as well as the blind and lame, being obliged to be present, some are seen without legs and arms, or maimed and mutilated a thousand different ways. All have their heads ornamented with plumes of various colours, each according to his own peculiar taste. Besides arms, they generally carry with them some utensil which indicates their trade.

The nobility pass along the ranks to exhort these brave troops to perform their duty on the day of battle; and to combat valiantly under the standards of their mighty monarch: "Where is there one equal to him under the heavens?" cries one troop: "Who can be compared to him?" exclaims another: "May he live for ever!" says a third: and all joining, as it were, in full chorus, pour forth the following prayer: "May

his throne be exalted above the sun and the stars! may his enemies be confounded, and trod under foot like the dust!" These clamours are combined with the clashing of arms, the sound of musical instruments; and the whole scene concludes with a sham-fight and a grand entertainment. When it is necessary to attack the enemy, drafts are no doubt made from these troops; but however good the choice, the army of the king of Congo is far from being formidable, as they observe no order in their march, nor discipline in camp. The soldiers charge with fury; but when once engaged, they no longer listen to command; and one fugitive hurries on the whole army. The same insubordination prevails when they are victors; and when they plunder, it is impossible to drag them away from the booty.

Before the introduction of christianity, the king's favourite concubines, at least to the number of twelve, were interred along with him; but they all solicited for that honour, and fought with each other to obtain it. This custom is abolished; but that of mournful lamentations, during eight days, at the funerals of the great, and the practice at anniversaries of loading the tables with provisions, and getting intoxicated, are still retained. Then follow the ceremonies of the church, which are performed with a pomp proportioned to the dignity of the person.



The royal vault is ornamented with a suit of black hangings, which are renewed every year, notwithstanding the bad odour that exhales, for some time after, from the body deposited in the middle of it in a beautiful coffin.

The precautions employed in the administration of justice display prudence and wisdom; but an incorruptible negro is next to a miracle. A creditor may make a slave of his debtor. Three crimes are accounted capital: murder, rebellion, and forgery; the punishment for the last is burning. Picking of pockets and stealing privately are crimes worthy of punishment; but to rob boldly, or to take any thing by force, is a noble action, considered as more heroic in proportion to the largeness of the booty.

The inhabitants of Congo possess none of those arts of industry by which labour is alleviated in other countries. Every thing among them is performed with the most painful toil. Labour supplies the place of art and ingenuity. They do not weave, but pass their threads through each other one by one. A stone or a piece of hard wood is their anvil, which they hold between their feet: they forge the iron with a shapeless mallet, but can neither file nor polish it. They are equally clumsy in working with clay or wood; but in whatever relates to their own conveniency they excel. A negro must be very poor if he has not two negroes to

carry him stretched out at full length in a palanquin. He who is obliged to walk on foot never burthens himself with any thing, for the wife carries the bag which contains their provisions. It hangs at her back, suspended by a thong which passes round her forehead. Besides this load she has sometimes in her arms a child which she suckles, and drags another along by the hand. The husband, in the mean time, gravely smokes his pipe close by her side, and never offers to assist her. This painful task is often renewed, because the negroes are fond of changing their residence, as it is so easy for them to carry every thing along with them. They ought, however, to be deterred from pursuing this wandering kind of life, by the difficulty and danger of travelling in a country infested by ferocious animals, destitute of bridges, and without open roads, except from one town to another; through forests obstructed by underwood, and amidst grass that rises above their heads. But none of these obstacles are capable of curing their mania for travelling.

Among the lower classes, when a girl is thought to be of an age fit for a husband, her parents make her retire for a month to a particular tent, where she receives the addresses of different suitors and the presents they bring her. At the end of that period she gives her hand to the person who is most agreeable to her taste. Among the great there are few marriages which have

not been preceded by a noviciate or trial. It is believed that a couple, before they enter into an engagement for their whole lives, ought to be intimately acquainted with each other; they agree therefore to take a trial of each other for two or three years. When the conditions are accepted by the parents and the girl, she removes with as much privacy as possible to the house of her future husband, and thus commences her noviciate. When the term agreed on arrives, it is generally the woman who solicits for a solemnization of the marriage. As to the last ceremony the husband is very indifferent, because he is about to impose on himself a sort of restraint; and in regard to children he cares very little whether they be bastards or legitimate: but he is often induced to submit through a desire of getting possession of the dowery. Sometimes the ceremony is preceded by ruptures and divorces, during which the woman takes care to provide herself with a protector; but this gives the husband no offence, and he is not prevented by these irregularities from making her his lawful wife. The marriage is celebrated before a priest, when one can be found, for the people here spoken of are catholics. On these occasions nothing is spared in order to treat the guests. The poor, rather than be deficient in this respect, would sell one or two of their children to purchase a calf or an ox, together with port wine and brandy; the



repast continues as long as there is any thing to eat, and the whole is accompanied with singing and dancing until the guests fall asleep on the spot.

Their noisy songs, intermixed with cries and shouts, frighten an European; and the negroes laugh at ours. They have both string and wind instruments, but even when played in the most masterly manner they form a dismal and melancholy concert. The more immodest their dances are, the more they consider them agreeable. Both sexes are sometimes so much heated by them, that they become seized with a kind of phrenzy which makes them forget the rules of decency, and in this the spectators participate. The immodest and licentious confusion which then takes place exceeds that of the most indecent bacchanalians. To these excesses, which are frequent, is ascribed a great part of their diseases. Besides keeping their pores shut by the grease with which they almost always anoint themselves, they contract them also by means of the cold water into which they plunge, when quite disgusting with sweat produced by these violent movements. Though the diseases thence resulting are of a very common kind, their physicians are unacquainted with the art of curing them: the greater part of their patients die. The small-pox also occasions great ravages; and the other kind is a scourge no less common and terrible. They do not say that these diseases were introduced among them by the Europeans: with

regard to the latter they must use frequent bleeding, until, as is said, the whole mass of their blood be changed. The rains in this hot and moist climate are almost all mortal. An opinion generally prevails that it is doing a service to a man in the agonies of death to assist him to die speedily; the least cruel are those who hasten death by stunning the patient with cries and shouts, or stifling him with caresses. It is related of the inhabitants of the province of Matamba, that when any of their relations are at the point of death they lay hold of them by the legs or arms, raise them in the air as high as they can, and then suffer them to fall to the ground. After looking at them some time when dead or expiring, they throw themselves on the body, kiss it, and press it against their breast with sighs, and other marks of sorrow, which might be capable of exciting the pity of those who are not acquainted with the indifference and want of affection that prevail in all their families.

John, 1484.  
Alphonso,  
1502.

The history of Congo, before the arrival of the Portuguese, is only a confused mass of vague traditions. As the natives were unacquainted with the art of writing, they have preserved few facts, and still fewer dates. They speak of a monarch named Luqueni, who united a number of small states, and formed of them the vast empire of Congo. This empire was in a state of great decline on the arrival of the Portuguese, in 1484,

under the command of Soufa. The facility with which they induced the reigning prince to embrace christianity is wonderful. It was the work of a few letters of exhortation from the king of Portugal, and of a voyage of an uncle of the king of Congo who was instructed and converted at Lisbon. On his return he catechized his nephew with the assistance of a few missionaries who had been sent to accompany him. The Mani Congo caused himself to be baptized, and assumed the name of John, while his queen took that of Eleonora, in honour of the king and queen of Portugal. Their example was followed by their whole court; and, as is generally the case, the people imitated the court. This prince, however, wavered in his religion; but Al Soufa his son and successor adhered to it with firmness. He may be styled the apostle of Congo, on account of the zeal which he shewed in sending for missionaries to instruct his subjects.

He sent his son to Lisbon in order that he might give him a christian education. This prince when he mounted the throne assumed the name of Don Pedro, and imitated the zeal and piety of his father. His son, Don Francis, did not degenerate; but he enjoyed the crown only two years, and at his death left it to his cousin Don Diego. As the latter died without children, the Portuguese, now become powerful in the kingdom, arrogated to themselves the right of giving it a sovereign. The princes of the blood,

Don Pedro,  
1521. Don  
Francis,  
1530. Don  
Diego, 1532.  
Don Henry,  
1540. Don  
Alvarez I.  
1542. Don  
Alvarez II.



the governors of the provinces, and the nobility, united to oppose this pretension. They attacked the Portuguese, and having defeated them, raised to the throne Don Henry, who is supposed to have been a natural son of Don Diego. On assuming the crown he found himself involved in a war, and having lost a battle and his life at the same time, Don Alvarez I. his son, was placed on the throne in his stead. This prince thought it necessary to justify, at Lisbon, the violence offered to the Portuguese when they attempted to oppose the election of his father. His exculpation was heard; but it gave rise to a coolness between the two nations, which proved injurious to the christian religion. Notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of the king, he was not able to obtain missionaries. This prince had to oppose an irruption of the Giagas, which was followed by a famine and the plague. The Portuguese gave him no assistance under these misfortunes; and it appears that they wished to compel him to discover to them the gold mines of his kingdom, which his predecessor had always carefully concealed. His confessor, though a Portuguese, had advised him not to entrust to foreigners a secret of so much importance to his empire. Don Alvarez II. however, complied, being urged by the circumstances of the moment; and was received into favour by the court of Lisbon, which at length sent out those missionaries of whom the christian religion had at

that time so much need. The good king assisted them as far as he was able; and had the pleasure of leaving to his son, along with the sceptre, christianity fully re-established.

It is commonly reported that the new king, Don Bernard, was killed in a duel by his brother Alvarez III. If the latter obtained the crown by fratricide, he effaced the odiousness of this crime from the minds of his subjects by a humane, religious, and just conduct. These noble qualities gave reason to lament that his reign was short. It lasted only seven years. The kings who succeeded him, Don Pedro II. Don Garcias I. Don Ambrosio, Don Alvarez IV. and Don Alvarez V. reigned altogether only fifteen years. The last fully deserved the misfortune which hurried him in the flower of his age from the throne to the grave. Having conceived unjust suspicions against the duke de Bomba and the marquis de Chiona his brother, these two princes were obliged to raise troops for their own defence. The result of the war was not auspicious to the king. He was taken prisoner by the two brothers; but, instead of abusing their victory, they treated the vanquished monarch with great respect, and conveyed him back to his capital, which they restored to him. The savage Alvarez, ashamed of being indebted for his crown and his life to his subjects, no sooner found himself at liberty than he levied an

Don Bernard. 1614.  
Don Alvarez III.  
1615. Don Pedro II.  
1622. Don Garcias I.  
1624. Don Ambrosio,  
1625. Don Alvarez IV.  
1631. Don Alvarez V.  
1636. Don Alvarez VI.  
1637.

army, and marched against the two brothers. In this expedition he was still more unfortunate than in the former, as it cost him his life. The duke de Bomba was proclaimed king in his stead, under the name of Alvarez VI. but was almost immediately assassinated by the marquis de Chiona, his brother, who assumed that of Don Garcias II.

Don Garcias  
II. 1638.  
Don Antonio,  
1658.  
Don Alvarez  
VII.  
1662. Don  
Alvarez  
VIII. 1666.

Though he ascended the throne by a crime, Don Garcias, at first, gave great hopes, on account of his ability in governing, as well as of his justice and his zeal for religion. All these virtues, however, were soon effaced by his ambition. He conceived a design of securing the crown to his eldest son, Don Alphonso, without election, and contrary to the laws. For that purpose it was necessary to destroy the princes of the blood, who, in preference to him and the duke de Bomba, had a right to the crown, which, by the victory of the two brothers had been transferred to a foreign family, or to a very distant branch of that on the throne. Don Garcias spared none of these unfortunate princes whom he could discover. The catholic priests remonstrated against his conduct; but he had recourse to the soothsayers, sorcerers, and magicians, who had assumed an ascendancy while the Portuguese deprived Congo of missionaries. These people flattered the credulous and superstitious mind of Don Garcias; but observing that his

missionaries of whom the christian religion had at



eldest son, Don Alphonso, attached to christianity, did not relish their idolatrous rites, these impostors found means to inspire the father with suspicions against him. This son, for whom Don Garcias had committed so many cruelties, he accused before an assembly of the states of an attempt to poison him. He then caused him to be declared unworthy of the throne, and his second son, Don Antonio, to be crowned in his presence.

The first action of Don Antonio, on succeeding his father, was to put to death his elder brothers. He had received orders for this purpose from Don Garcias when on his death-bed, as well as to spare none of the princes of the blood whom he might get into his power. These orders he punctually executed, and carried his precautions so far as to dispatch his youngest brother. As the greater part of the princes, having escaped the poniard of Don Garcias, took shelter in the kingdom of Angola, he made strict search to discover those who had concealed themselves in his own, and they were all massacred. By these measures, he accustomed himself so much to blood, that he shed it with as little remorse as if he had been born among cannibals. The tyrant at last proceeded to such excess of cruelty, that he scarcely could procure domestics to serve him. The catholic priests remonstrated not only against these cruelties, but

also against the incestuous marriage he had contracted with one of his relations. He was, however, so incensed, that he deprived the clergy of their property, and declared that he would extend his indignation to all the Portuguese.

The latter put themselves in a state of defence, and began by taking possession of the gold mines. Don Antonio, to oppose them, levied an army, as is said, of five hundred thousand men. His soothsayers assured him of victory; and that, escorted by the greatest of the Portuguese lords, he would enter in triumph St. Paul de Loanda, the capital of the kingdom of Angola, to which he was leading his troops. When the two armies met, the prudent Don Antonio retired to an eminence, from whence he could have a view of the combat. The Portuguese, who did not amount to four thousand, soon dispersed the whole multitude, and a detachment marched directly towards the eminence. The guard made no resistance; Don Antonio fell, and his head was carried round in triumph on the point of a lance:—an entrance very different from what had been predicted by his soothsayers. All that we know of his two successors, Don Alvarez VII. and Don Alvarez VIII. does not deserve a place in history; and if any events of importance have since occurred, we are entirely ignorant of them.

and, as it is said, that he was not only ignorant of them, but also of the events which followed.

## ANGOLA.

The kingdom of Angola is a province dismembered from Congo. The greater part of it is subject to the dominion of the Portuguese. It has been extended along with the religion which they introduced into it; but the latter is as little known, and as badly practised, as in the kingdom of Congo. Religious festivals are, however, celebrated here with more pomp and magnificence. The king of Angola does not exercise over these provinces all the authority he wishes; and he is sometimes obliged to employ force for the purpose of making his orders be respected. On these occasions he is said to have armies of five or six hundred thousand men, disciplined after the method of Congo. The general directs all their movements, and communicates his orders by the sound of musical instruments. His soldiers attack the enemy with loud shouts, and in appearance with much fury; but if they are once thrown into confusion by any panic or accident, they can be rallied neither by the general nor his instruments. All the drums and trumpets of Africa could not drown the horrible cries of one of these armies when flying. The great number of slaves with which this kingdom carries on trade, are procured on these occasions, and wars are often undertaken for no other purpose.



Angola.

The first governor who shook off the yoke of Congo, being called Angola, gave his name to the country, which was before known by that of Dango. For a long time he transmitted to the king of Congo the tribute which he owed him as governor; but seeing that prince engaged in a foreign war, he rendered himself independent. The Mani Congo, instead of making him return to his duty by force, thought himself extremely happy to obtain assistance from him against his enemies. They lived afterwards on good terms, and Angola attained to a great age, beloved and respected by his people. Finding his end approaching, as he had no male children, he was desirous of transmitting the sceptre to his eldest daughter Zunda Rianguola. He communicated his project to his prime minister, whom he had raised to that dignity from a state of slavery. The ambitious minister pretended to approve the measure, as he resolved to turn it to his own advantage. The old king being one day in his palace, the minister spread a sudden alarm, and sent a messenger to announce that the enemy were at the gates. The monarch, in great trepidation, begged the minister to save him from the impending danger. The latter, who was young and vigorous, took Angola on his shoulders, carried him to the remote corner of a wood, and finding no one near him, pulled out a dagger, and plunged it into his heart. He

then returned as if overwhelmed with grief for the loss of the king, whom he pretended to have been killed by an accident. The princess, for whom the throne was destined, found it necessary to dissemble her sentiments, and to suffer the assassin to place himself upon it; but whether naturally, or through the effects of poison, he was soon after carried off by a sudden death.

Zunda Riangola having assumed the diadem, Zunda Riangola. resolved not to marry, that she might have neither a companion, nor a censor of her conduct; but she invited to reside with her a sister, named Tumma Riangola, who had two sons. The queen being jealous of the eldest, the darling of the people, who looked up to him with great hope, caused him to be assassinated. The mother, in the utmost distress, levied an army to attack the murderer of her son. The two sisters took the field at the head of their troops, but those of the queen gave way, and she was taken prisoner. Tumma Riangola threw herself like one frantic on her barbarous sister, and plunged a dagger into her bosom. Neither she nor her husband, however, would accept the crown, which they conferred upon their second son Angola Chilvagni.

This prince had a great number of wives, and many children, whom he established, during his life-time, in different governments. At his death Angola Chilvagni I. Dambi Angola.

Angola  
Chilvagni II  
Ninga An-  
gola.

he was succeeded by the eldest of his sons, Dambi Angola, who being apprehensive that his brothers might league against him to deprive him of the crown, had recourse to the usual expedient of putting to death as many as he could. Dambi, who was a monster of avarice and cruelty, died universally detested. His funeral, however, was magnificent, according to the taste of the country; and his grave was covered by a mountain of human bodies massacred in honour of his memory. His successor, Angola Chilvagni II. was an intrepid warrior, and a man of great liberality, but exceedingly vain. His flatterers made him believe that he was one of the gods of the country; and he required that divine honours should be paid to him. Ningha Angola, who succeeded, though not his son, displayed an inhuman character, and indulged in the greatest cruelties. He died after a very short reign; and in order that his death might resemble his life, he was interred in the most solemn manner amidst a hecatomb of human bodies.

Bandi An-  
gola.

Bandi Angola carried his cruelty so far, that he alienated the affection of his subjects, and that they preferred falling into the hands of the Giagas to remaining in his. The cannibals ran to the assistance of their neighbours, as if they had been hastening to a splendid banquet. The king of Congo and the Portuguese thought it



good policy not to suffer the king of Angola to be oppressed by these barbarians, who might afterwards fall upon them. They therefore sent troops to the relief of Bandi. The Portuguese, in particular, rendered him the most essential services; but by way of reward he entertained a design of causing them all to be massacred. The princess, the king's daughter, being enamoured of their brave general, informed him of the plot. He accordingly saved himself in time, carried his countrymen in safety to Congo, and set out for Portugal, from which he returned with a reinforcement that made Bandi tremble. The Portuguese overran the country with fire and sword; but the greatest mischief they did to the monarch was by supporting a plan formed against his life. The conspirators made use of a stratagem, which shews that this prince was very ill served by his spies. They went to inform him that a rebel was marching through the country, and causing terrible devastation. On their entreaty, Bandi allowed them to raise troops, with which they made a feint of going to attack an enemy, who did not exist. They then pretended that they had defeated him; and thus induced the king to repair to the camp to participate in the triumph. He went thither without any suspicion; and being surrounded by the conspirators, was instantly dispatched.

Nighola-m-  
Bandi.

He left a son and three daughters, all born by one female slave. According to the laws of the country, none of these children could inherit the throne, on account of the servile state of their mother; yet, by means of intrigue, the son, named Nighola-m-Bandi, was acknowledged as sovereign. He was indebted for his good fortune chiefly to his sisters, who, by their excellent qualities, and well-timed liberality, had gained the esteem of the great, and the affection of the people. The eldest was called Zingha Bandi; the names of the other two were Cambi and Fungi. The king's first care was to endeavour to bring about a peace with the Portuguese; and he entrusted the negociation to his sister Zingha. She was the same perhaps who before the death of her father had informed the Portuguese general of the design formed to destroy him, as well as his countrymen; and, in that case, the monarch could not have chosen an envoy more likely to succeed.

This princess waited on the Portuguese viceroy, attended by a retinue worthy of her rank, and was received with the greatest marks of distinction. On entering the hall of audience, she observed a magnificent chair destined for the viceroy, and opposite to it, on the ground, a superb carpet and two cushions for her. She was displeased with this ceremonial; but without

seeming offended, she made a private sign to one of the ladies of her suite, who immediately fell on her knees on the carpet, and leaning on her elbows, presented her back to her mistress. Zingha placed herself upon it, and remained in that situation during the whole conference. The Portuguese, among other conditions of peace, required that the king of Angola should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Portugal, and pay an annual tribute. The haughty princess rejected these terms with indignation. "They are fit to be proposed," said she, "only to a people conquered by the force of arms, and not to a powerful sovereign, who solicits of his own free will the friendship of the Portuguese." Zingha obtained what she desired. When the viceroy was taking leave, he remarked to her, that the lady on whom she had sat remained still in the same posture, and begged she would desire her to rise; upon which she replied: "It does not become the ambassador of a great king to make twice use of the same chair: I leave her to you."

The princess was so charmed with the politeness of the Portuguese, and the honours paid to her, that she remained some time at Loanda, their capital. Her attention was particularly attracted by the troops; the arms, good order, and discipline of which she much admired. Whether from policy or taste, she caused herself to



be instructed in the christian religion, and was baptized. When she returned to her brother, she prevailed on him to receive instruction, and to send for missionaries ; but when they arrived the king would not hear them. He delayed also to ratify the treaty concluded by his sister, and these tergiversations rekindled the war. There is reason to conjecture, that Zingha, incensed at this insult offered to her by her brother, though she abstained from openly espousing the party of the Portuguese, did not declare in his favour. He became therefore suspicious of her ; and being uncertain respecting the fate of the war, entrusted his only son to a chief of the Giagas, his neighbour, that in case of any sinister event, he might be protected from the cruelty of his sister. Fortune was not favourable to this prince. The Portuguese defeated his army, and shut him up in a small island, where he was exposed to the danger of being devoured by wild beasts, or of perishing by famine. His sister, it is said, prevented this catastrophe, and it is believed that she caused him to be poisoned.

Zingha,  
1627.

Zingha ascended the throne to the prejudice of her nephew. She also justified the other fear of her brother ; and having induced the young prince, by feigned caresses, to visit her, stabbed him with her own hand. This commencement fully shewed what might be expected from her

in future; and the Portuguese soon perceived that in her they would have a formidable enemy. They had got into their hands the most beautiful part of Angola;—an usurpation she was as little disposed to suffer as she was to confine herself within the province of Matamba, the only possession they seemed willing to leave to her under the name of kingdom. Zingha declared war as soon as she had made the necessary preparations to strengthen her power by alliances with the Giagas, and other idolatrous princes. She entered into a treaty also with the king of Congo, and even with the Dutch, who were then at war with the Portuguese. The princess attacked the latter with great boldness, and gained some advantages; but in the midst of her success was deserted by her allies. The Dutch were obliged to retire, and the king of Congo recalled his troops. Misfortunes succeeded each other so rapidly, that, being abandoned even by her own subjects, she was reduced to the necessity of quitting her states, and of taking shelter in the deserts.

The Portuguese now entertained hopes that they should be able to make her comply with their wishes. They sent her an offer of peace, provided she would submit to pay a certain tribute, and agree to some other conditions, which, they said, were not disagreeable to her subjects. She, however, replied: “My people may wear

“ chains if they are base enough to suffer them  
“ to be imposed on them : as for me, I shall  
“ never be dependent on a foreign power.”  
This resolution was, in some measure, not unexpected. Finding, therefore, that there was no more room for negociation, they appointed king of Angola a person chosen from among the princes of the royal family. They obliged him to embrace the christian religion, and at baptism gave him the name of John. He lived only a short time ; and was succeeded by another called Philip, who was raised to the throne on the same conditions.

Zingha, highly incensed to find herself stripped of her finest provinces, and to see another thrust into her place, threw herself in despair into the hands of the Giagas ; openly renounced the christian religion, and adopted that of the pagans, with all their superstitious rites and inhuman sacrifices. She was elected their chief, and became more ferocious than their *singhilles*, or the most barbarous of their priests. Zingha revived that practice of the Giagas, by which women, when they brought forth children, ceased to be mothers. She obliged them to destroy all their offspring below seven years of age. She re-established all the diabolical ceremonies of these monsters, and appeared, under arms, at their head. Having as much skill and vigour as the most expert foldier, to bend the bow, or hurl the



javelin, she was the foremost to expose herself to the most imminent danger ; and acquired so much credit among these cannibals, by conforming to their manner of life, and even out-doing them, if possible, in cruelty, that on the least signal they were ready to follow her on the most perilous enterprizes. With this confused multitude, of whom she composed a formidable army, Zingha entered the provinces subject to the Portuguese. She, however, did not amuse herself with attacking fortified places, for which her troops were not proper, but ravaged the level country with the fury of a ferocious animal ; massacred and burnt, plundered and destroyed, wherever she went ; and having retired, loaded with booty, re-appeared again when she was supposed to be at a considerable distance.

This war continued several years. Zingha experienced some losses ; but she found means to repair them by her valour and prudence. Attempts were made to lessen her authority, by spreading a report among the Giagas that she inclined to christianity, and was ready to return to that religion. To destroy this opinion, so fatal to her power, she united herself more closely than ever to the *singhilles*, and indulged with more ardour in all those abominations which could gain the affections of the soldiers. She had among them a number of spies, who com-

municated to her whatever they did or said. By making proper use of these discoveries, she was at length considered as a divinity ; her words were like the responses of an oracle ; and a look or a gesture were often a sentence of death, which struck terror into the most intrepid.

The Portuguese could find no other means of checking her impetuous course than by opposing to her another chief of the Giagas. While they were engaged in hostilities, the Europeans enjoyed some tranquillity ; but they were at the same time afraid that these barbarians, by often meeting each other in the field, might at last unite, which would render the fate of their provinces still worse. They endeavoured, therefore, to induce Zingha to adopt a pacific disposition, and sent an ambassador to her under a pretence of becoming mediators between her and the Giagas her enemies. As they imagined that she was not absolutely averse to christianity, they dispatched along with the ambassador, whose name was Don Gaspar Borgia, a priest called Don Antonio Cæglio, who, while the former was treating in regard to political affairs, was to try to revive in her mind those sparks of religion which were supposed not to be altogether extinguished.

Each discharged his commission with prudence and ability ; but neither of them succeeded. She replied to the former, that she would consider

it an honour to be allied to their king, but none to be his subject ; and that in regard to the sect of the Giagas, among whom she had lived for several years, and who had supplied her with an immense number of soldiers, both her honour and interest required that she should always afford them support and protection. She told the latter that she remembered extremely well that she had embraced christianity, and had been baptized ; but that the time was not then proper for speaking to her of any change : and she desired them to remember that it was entirely owing to them that she had abjured their religion. The negociation, therefore, returned without success, but not without hopes.

Opportunities, indeed, occurred of renewing the attempt. Zingha having experienced losses and vexation, Don Salvador Correa, the Portuguese viceroy, a man of great moderation and prudence, thought the moment favourable for overcoming, by kind offers, that spirit which could not be subdued by force. He therefore dispatched two capuchin missionaries, men distinguished by their wisdom, who were charged to thank her for some favours she had conferred on the christians in her states, and to solicit a continuance of them. She received them with kindness, and granted their request. They embraced this opportunity of representing to



her the crime of her apostacy, and what danger she incurred by persisting in it.

The queen was moved, and fetching a deep sigh, addressed them as follows : “ O my fathers !  
“ may God have pity on a princess, wounded  
“ in the most sensible part. It is by the fault of  
“ another that I am reduced to the condition in  
“ which you now see me. I should not have  
“ been so—I should not now live in torture,  
“ which words cannot express—had I not been  
“ deprived of my rights. Have compassion  
“ upon me. I have been robbed of my states,  
“ and attempts are now made to oblige me to  
“ lose my soul. I am perfectly sensible that I  
“ am not in the right way ; but I must continue  
“ in my error, unless I choose to become an ob-  
“ ject of contempt to my people. I must also  
“ remain in it, until the usurpers restore every  
“ thing they have taken from me. Reflect,  
“ yourselves, how unfortunate I am to spend all  
“ my life in the tumult of arms, and amidst  
“ slaughter. Pray then to God for me, that he  
“ would deign to break the chains with which I  
“ am loaded ; because I am too weak to do it  
“ myself. In that case I promise to the divine  
“ Majesty that I will grant you every power you  
“ wish, in order that you may labour for the  
“ conversion of my people ; and, at the same  
“ time, I will assist you with all my forces.”

The conclusion of this speech, which was accompanied with tears, convinced the missionaries that the Portuguese would never be able to bend this haughty princess, as long as they persisted in attempting to make her submit to the tribute and homage which they wished to impose upon her. The viceroy, to whom they reported what they had done, was of the same opinion. Though opposed by his council, he relaxed in his pretensions; entered into a sincere negotiation with Zingha; and, having restored to her some provinces, acknowledged her as the ally, and not the subject, of Portugal. The queen was affected by this open and generous conduct: she relaxed also on her part; granted with good will what could never have been extorted from her by force; and thought of nothing but the evil she had done, particularly in regard to religion.

She had, however, little time remaining for that purpose, as she was already seventy-five years of age; but she exerted herself with all the ardour of a young convert. She returned with the utmost sincerity into the bosom of the church, and exhorted her subjects to follow her example. She was so much feared and respected that this change occasioned no commotion. The *singhilles* murmured, but they durst not attempt to excite any disturbance. Having first employed gentle means, she issued severe edicts against idolatry; and in order to restore mar-

riage to an honourable estate, she subjected herself to that bond, and made Fungi Cambi, who was almost as old, follow her example. She prohibited polygamy, and forbade mothers in future to expose their children, or to get rid of them in any other manner. We might consider as marks of her conversion the churches she built, and the riches with which she endowed them; but these equivocal signs are of less importance than the uninterrupted proofs which she gave of sincere piety, and the care she took to administer justice, to relieve the wants of her people, and to instruct them herself as their catechist and mother.

Zingha died while engaged in these laudable occupations, at the age of nearly eighty. She expressly forbade the inhuman sacrifices, used among the Giagas, to be revived at her death; but the ladies of the court, more affected by the fear of seeing the ancient practice renewed, than encouraged by the prohibition, all fled when the body was about to be deposited in the grave, and did not appear again until it was covered with earth. They abandoned themselves then, like the rest of the people, to sighs and lamentation: their regret, being founded on esteem, was sincere. Every person was inspired by the same sentiments, and even those who were displeased at her change of religion, and who had suffered by it, forgave her on account



of her eminent qualities. Her death put an end to the empire. Her sister swayed the sceptre only for a year, with a hand enfeebled by age. The kings appointed by the Portuguese—or rather they themselves, in the name of these princes—united under their dominion all the provinces possessed by Zingha; and tired at length of maintaining these phantoms of sovereigns, they converted the kingdom of Angola into one of their most useful colonies, under the command of a viceroy.

## LOANGO.

Loango is also a part detached from the kingdom of Congo. In travelling through the provinces some customs are found not common in the whole country. Such, for example, as that in Camma, where the husbands are so free from jealousy, that they offer their wives to their friends and even to strangers. If they receive them they are the more esteemed: and the case is the same after they have been well beat by their husbands; this treatment is a mark of conjugal affection. At Gobbi, in the time of a plague, one of the missionaries saw the inhabitants burn their deity after they had invoked it in vain. “Since it can be of no use to us,” said they, “in such a calamity as this, what assistance can we expect from it in others?” When the missionaries went into any of the

houses, they were informed that entrance into the apartment of their wives was forbidden: this prohibition is to prevent strangers from going thither, as they think themselves obliged to give two nights of their wives to those who visit them.

The inhabitants of Loango are known by the name of *Barmas*. They are tall, vigorous, and well made, and exceedingly civil, though they were formerly anthropophagi. Polygamy is every-where allowed. Except the difference, which has been mentioned in regard to Camma, jealousy prevails in general throughout the nation. Opulent people have ten or twelve lawful wives, who are, however, as much slaves as the rest; that is to say, are burthened with all the laborious part of their domestic economy. They never eat with their husbands; they feed on what they leave; and never speak to them but on their knees, and with the utmost submission. The children follow the state of their mother, and according to her condition are born slaves or free. They never inherit the property of their father, which at his decease falls to his brother or eldest sister. White children, who have grey eyes, with white or red hair, are sometimes born of negro parents: on the first view, one might take them for Europeans, but on examining them more closely their complexion has the cadaverous appearance of a corpse.

They are weak-sighted, and do not see clearly but by moon-light: they are said to be incapable of engendering. When any of them are born, they are presented to the king, who makes them forcerers and soothsayers, or sometimes counsellors. The Portuguese call them *albinos*.

Every person here has a deity of his own, which he calls *mokisso* and *fetiche*. The houses are covered with them, under all kinds of figures—of men and women, birds, trees, and others of the like kind. The most devout carry them suspended from their necks in a small box. None but old men are set apart for the worship of these gods. They are consecrated by the *enganga mokisso*, or chief of the magicians, with the most ridiculous ceremonies, but which give to the priests great authority. They pretend to the art of discovering those who have occasioned death—which, as in Congo, is never supposed to be natural; and this indication is attended with the same advantages to the priests, and produces the same misfortunes to the nation, as in the former kingdom.

The royal family believe in transmigration; the others place the souls of their dead in their domestic gods, and by these means convert them into tutelary spirits, for whom they prepare beautiful habitations, or a kind of chapels, where they offer to them the first fruits of all their productions: they neither taste food nor



drink until it has been tasted by a mokisso. Some consign the souls of the deceased to heaven, and others banish them below the earth, according to their merit, after they have sojourned in the body. Others are persuaded that they die with the body, unless they are kept alive by conjuration: this is still a source of profit to the forcerers. The sovereigns of this country have found means to make the people believe that they themselves are mokissos—the causes of good and evil—abundance, peace, and happiness, when they are well pleased, but war, famine, and calamities of every kind, when their subjects deviate from their duty. Every person who holds a distinguished office is esteemed by the people in proportion to his dignity. Such ideas are exceedingly well calculated to promote subordination. They bury many things with their dead; and mourn for them, according to their rank, certain hours and days, but never more than three, during which time they must make dreadful lamentations. Foreigners are not interred in the country, as they imagine that their bodies would occasion to it some misfortune. They are thrown into a river or into the sea.

The Europeans cannot trade here until they have obtained the king's permission, which they are obliged to purchase. His subjects give him the title of *sambo ponge*, which signifies god.

This is no doubt proper, since they believe that all events depend upon him in his quality of mokisso. The chief officers of the kingdom are held in great respect. Every man being born a soldier, they are all obliged to appear at reviews, and to take the field when called upon; but they are wretched troops. The laws, except those against treason, are not very severe; yet any of the king's wives, if convicted of adultery, would be burnt alive. His daughters, sisters, and other relations, however, whom he gives in marriage to the grandees of the kingdom, enjoy full liberty in this respect, and may abuse it if they think proper: the husband has not the same privilege. The king eats in one hall, and drinks in another. No one, under pain of death, must see him on these occasions. The administration of justice is his principal occupation, and employs his time during the greater part of the day. When he appears in public it is with great pomp, amidst the noise of acclamations and of musical instruments. The albinos, with dwarfs and pigmies, form part of his retinue: the latter race of men are found in the frontiers, at the distance of a month's journey from the capital. Their chief business is the hunting of elephants, which seem to condemn their diminutive size; and they occasion great destruction among these enormous quadrupeds. Though of small sta-

ture, they are formidable enemies. It is a mark of great favour to be admitted to rest one's hands on the king's knees, and to recline the head on his bosom. The crown does not pass in succession to the monarch's children, but to the eldest of those of his brother or his sister. The kings are in alliance with Portugal, but they do not seem to be dependent on it. Christianity is in a more feeble state here than in Congo and Angola.

These three kingdoms have often been harassed by the Giagas. It is to be remarked, that it was a woman who added a kind of religious fanaticism to the ferocity of these monsters, and who consequently rendered their barbarity more active and dangerous; her name was Tem Bam Dumba. She was the daughter of Donais, the captain of one of these wandering hordes, who traverse the deserts of Africa, and Mussafa his wife. The places on the sea-coast often fell a prey to the cruelty of these barbarians, as they were more populous, and therefore more capable of supplying them with the means of glutting themselves with human blood, their thirst of which was insatiable. They drank it from the skulls of those they had butchered; and to make the flesh of their unhappy victims tender, they exposed them to the most cruel torments. Quizzuva, one of these chiefs, caused a square before his habitation to be paved with



the bones of those he had devoured. When Donais died, his spouse Mussafa, a bold and intrepid woman, assumed the command; and, having been educated from her infancy amidst slaughter, was always the foremost in battle, and the last to retire. She was fond of appearing in the dress and with the armour of a man. The warlike disposition which she observed in her daughter induced her to equip her in the same manner, and to make her follow her in her expeditions.

Tem Bam Dumba improved so much under her mother, that the latter did not hesitate to place her at the head of a party of her troops. The daughter, amidst the licentiousness of a camp, abandoned herself, without reserve, to her voluptuous inclinations. She had lovers without number, whom she put to death privately as soon as she began to be tired of them. Her mother reclaimed her, however, from her excesses. Tem Bam Dumba revolted openly against her, and corrupted her army. Her exploits made her to be considered by the soldiers, not only as an extraordinary young woman, but as a divinity. She herself pretended to be inspired, and destined to lay the foundations of an empire which would eternize her memory. Being dressed and armed like a man, she appeared at the head of her troops, and addressed them as follows: "I am desirous of reviving the laws

“ and ceremonies of the ancient Giagas, which  
“ will be the infallible means of rendering you  
“ all rich and happy. The example I am about  
“ to give is worthy of your courage. If you  
“ do not follow it I shall believe that you have  
“ degenerated from your illustrious race.”

After this speech, which attracted the attention of her soldiers, she sent for her only son; the megara then threw him into a mortar, pounded him herself, and having reduced his body to a paste, placed it on the fire in a kettle, with certain powders, roots, and oil, made an ointment of it, and pulling off her clothes, caused her whole body to be rubbed over with it in the presence of the people. “ All those,” said she, “ who shall anoint their bodies as I have done “ mine will be invulnerable, and sure of succeeding in all their enterprizes.” She then added, that the ointment to be more efficacious ought to be made from the flesh of the children of the most distinguished families, voluntarily sacrificed by their parents. This charm was supposed to inspire people also with military talents, and to give them prudence and wisdom in their councils. Tem Bam Dumba enacted laws which all tended to excite a spirit of ferocity. Male children were excluded, till a certain age, from the *kilombo*, or camp; those who appeared there before the prescribed period were devoted to destruction, and women were forbidden to

bring forth in it under pain of being condemned to devour their own offspring, or of submitting to death themselves. Children born deformed or imperfect were ordered to be thrown to the dogs. These laws she called *quixilles*, that is to say, inviolable. This horrid code concluded with an injunction to her subjects to feed always on human flesh, in preference to any other. We are told of one of her worthy disciples, who caused a young woman to be butchered every day for her table. Thus two passions carried to excess—vengeance and ambition—converted into monsters two women, who were, perhaps, formed to be heroines. A distinction, however, ought to be made between the penitent Zingha, and Tem Bam Dumba—tranquil amidst her crimes, and opening to herself the grave by a continuation of atrocities.

After sacrificing a great number of lovers to conceal her debaucheries, she became so far enamoured of a common soldier, named Culemba, that she married him. He, however, required intreaty before he would comply with her wishes; and when he at last consented he resolved to anticipate her design as soon as he should find that her passion began to cool. Culemba watched his spouse so narrowly, that, notwithstanding her affectation, he discovered that she looked on him with an eye of indifference. From such sentiments to hatred the tran-



sition is short ; but he did not suffer that transition to take place—he dispatched her by poison, and succeeded her on the throne. In the room of that megæra he took an amiable concubine, who softened his manners, and made him quit the fatigues of war for a life of peace and tranquillity. Chinguri, his successor, whose name signifies lion, was like that king of the animals—insatiable for blood and rapine. He was killed in a battle, and his successor Caluximbo, though a great warrior, was of a tender and humane disposition. He was desirous of mitigating some of those laws which had been made by Tem Bam Dumba: this attempt displeased his subjects, who assassinated him to appease, as they said, the manes of Tem Bam Dumba. After him, till the year 1657, we find a series of the chiefs of these Giagas Musimbi; which was so much the longer as they appeared only for a moment on that bloody throne. He who had received protection massacred his benefactor; the son assassinated the father; and it is much to be wished that all the soldiers had imitated their commanders to exterminate this cursed race.

The kingdoms of Anziko, Fungeno, Biafar, and Calbaria, which are more or less distant from Loango, towards the interior part of the country, pour forth on the coasts monsters of a like kind. It is said that the Anzikese can dis-

charge twenty-eight arrows before the first falls to the ground. To have two teeth fewer above and two below is considered by their women as an ornament, but they must not be pulled out until they are fit for marriage: those who should refuse to have this mark of beauty would be dishonoured. When they take prisoners they tie them to a stake, and subject them to a proof of their courage by shooting at them as if at a mark, but in such a manner that the arrows only pass near them: those who testify fear are killed and eaten, but those who appear intrepid they adopt. They recruit their armies with these prisoners, accustom them to human flesh, if they are not accustomed to it already, and soon render them as barbarous and ferocious as themselves.

## GUINEA.

Returning from the interior part of the country, inhabited by the monsters before mentioned, we arrive at Guinea, the air of which is unwholesome on account of the vapours and exhalations raised by the excessive heat. The mosquitos or gnats are here exceedingly troublesome. Their sting is so painful and poisonous that it inflames the neighbouring parts, and occasions ulcers. It is difficult to land on the coasts of Guinea, as it is bordered by a kind of reef or bank of sand; and vessels are exposed to

great danger in approaching it, except at the mouths of rivers. The trade for slaves must be carried on at certain periods. If it be continued beyond these, the ships run the risque of being detained a whole season, and of losing all the profit of their voyage. The country, which is watered by a great many streams, is exceedingly fertile, and well covered with wood.

#### BENIN.

The kingdom of Benin has a capital of the same name, which for that country is remarkably well built. A sight of the market would not much excite the appetite of an European. The flesh of dogs, of which the negroes are exceedingly fond, roasted apes, bats, rats, and lizards, may be seen exposed in it for sale. The king is never approached but by three ministers, who convey to him the verbal petitions of his subjects and carry back his answers. One may readily believe that these lords deliver them in such words as are best suited to their own views. When the monarch finds death approaching, he sends for the chief of them, and tells him, in private, which of his children he appoints to be his successor, but his name must be disclosed to no other person. In this manner he has it in his power to raise to the throne whichever of them he pleases. In general they are very numerous. They all pay their court to the confidant; and,



as may be readily conceived, with great solicitude, as all, except he for whom the crown is destined, are sure of being put to death. At the monarch's funeral the body is thrown into a deep pit, having a narrow mouth, and along with it as many courtiers, women, and officers in his service, as it is capable of containing, and it is then shut up. Next morning it is opened, and they are asked several times, in succession, whether they have found the king, until no more sighs or lamentations are heard : it is then judged that they have departed with the prince, and gone to serve him in the other world. The night following the priests of the idols disperse themselves throughout the streets, assassinate without distinction every person they meet, and send them to assist those who had gone before with the king.

The inhabitants of Benin, however, are accounted mild and humane, and enemies to every kind of violence. Though very much addicted to women, they avoid, contrary to the custom of the other negroes, all coarse obscenity in their conversation ; but they have no objection to double entendres. Those who possess the art of wrapping up indelicate ideas in decent words are accounted witty. Poligamy is generally practised, as well as the circumcision of both sexes. They are exceedingly jealous of each other, but not of the Europeans ; for they do not

think it possible that their women can have so little taste as to be fond of the whites. They pay and receive visits, converse with each other, and eat together, which is a proof of a sociableness very uncommon among the blacks. The trials by ordeal, formerly practised in Europe, are in use at Benin:—such as those by red-hot iron, immersion, and potions administered by the priests. They are afraid of their shadow, and with great reason, as they imagine it to be a real being, who will one day witness against them whether they have led a good or a bad life. This persuasion is as powerful a restraint as a great many laws. Their magistrates are ornamented with a collar of coral, which is a badge of their dignity. To lose it, or suffer it to be stolen, is a crime worthy of death. On the slave coast lie the kingdoms of Cano and Popo. The name of this coast indicates the trade which is there carried on.

#### JUIDA.

All the Europeans who have been at Juida speak of it with admiration, as being one of the most delightful countries in the universe. Imagination cannot paint any thing more agreeable and enchanting than the verdure of the meadows and the beauty of the fields. The whole kingdom is like a garden, enclosed on one side by the sea, and on the other by high mountains.

Some travellers make it scarcely sixteen leagues in circumference ; but in so small a space the population is prodigious. One village often contains more inhabitants than some kingdoms on the coast. The houses stand contiguous in the villages, which are never at a greater distance from each other than a gun-shot. In one field the natives may be seen tilling, sowing, and reaping, in the same season ; and the tree from which they collect ripe fruit gratifies the smell, at the same time, with the perfume of its blossom. The men sell every thing in the markets and fairs, except bread and liquors, the distribution of which is reserved for the women, who are expert in traffic, and excellent and ready calculators.

The inhabitants of Juida seem to possess many of the qualities of the Chinese :—the same love of labour, the same industry, the same ceremonious civility, the same jealous affection for their wives, the same cunning to cheat in commerce, and the same external politeness towards strangers. Were they to meet an European a hundred times the same day, a hundred times would they fall down on their knees and kiss the ground, and would not rise but on a signal given by the person whom they were saluting. They do the same thing to each other ; so that hundreds of them may be seen at once on their knees, as if all engaged in some act of



public devotion. The women perform all the severe labours, and particularly those of agriculture. People who meet those of the king, run the risk of losing their lives; and for that reason they call out to the men, at a distance, to retire from the way. The monarch in his palace is served by females only. Young women, however, are not very desirous of being admitted into it; because, unless the monarch casts a favourable eye upon them, they are condemned to perpetual celibacy. A beauty who had been carried thither by force, made her escape, and threw herself into a well. There are reckoned to be a thousand of them. This palace is like a park, from which he sometimes takes twenty, in order to be sold; but their places are soon supplied by those whom the great men of his court present to him, for the purpose of obtaining his favour. The women, like the rest, are made to labour in companies in the fields. They are exceedingly prolific, and the men are ardent and vigorous. A viceroy once formed an army of his sons and grandsons, to the number of two thousand. A captain, not very old, once complained that he had only seventy children alive, having lost the same number. Families of a hundred and fifty children are not uncommon. It is needless to say that polygamy is practised. In no country have the men more wives, and no-where are they more jealous.

These negroes are most dextrous thieves. If complaints are made on this head, the king orders the criminal to be sought for and punished; but as the monarch's son and his other relations get, in general, part of the plunder, they conceal the thief. If a girl has given any proofs of fecundity before marriage, she is more courted, because it is then certain that she will have children. A divorce may be obtained by giving to the parents double the expense of the marriage entertainment, which never amounts to a large sum. It seldom exceeds a sheep, or something of the like kind. The women inhabit certain huts at a distance, when nature, in concert with the laws of the country, require it. Circumcision is in use for both sexes. The men look upon their wives as slaves, and sell them without regret; but they preserve and have the most tender affection for their male children. The latter entertain the utmost respect for their father, and the eldest brother, who alone is heir. Some imagine, that they can discover in these customs, traces of Judaism. Two scourges prevail here—an unwholesome atmosphere, and a passion for gaming: that for music and dancing is also strong, but far less dangerous. Their dancing is not destitute of precision, nor their singing of harmony. People, says a certain author, must be careful not to pronounce the word death before the king, as they would be ex-

posed to the danger of losing their lives. They do not run the same risk with others; but still they are not beheld with a favourable eye if they are so indiscreet as to utter it. They, however, raise mausolea to the memory of their relations, and often pay a visit to these funeral monuments.

If the ancient pagans boasted of having thirty thousand idols, those of Juida have four times as many. They call them fetiches, and consider them as the governors of the universe; for God, according to their belief, does not interfere with it. "He is too great," say they, "to give himself any trouble respecting things so inconsiderable as the world or man." An inhabitant of Juida explains his mythology as follows: "The number of our gods," says he, "is infinite; when one of us wishes to undertake any thing of importance, he first searches for a god who may ensure success to his design. Having gone out with this idea, he assumes for his god the first object he meets;—a dog, a cat, or any other animal, and even inanimate things, such as a stone or a log of wood. He then presents some offerings to the object he has chosen for his god; and promises, if it grant success to his undertaking, that he will consider it as a deity, and, as such, pay it divine honour. If his enterprize be attended with success, he has found out a new god,



“ and he daily presents to it offerings ; but if it  
“ proves unfortunate, he rejects it as a thing of  
“ no use.”

They, however, acknowledge three principal deities :—the sea, large trees, and a certain kind of serpent. That which they invoke has a head of a large size, and almost round, with eyes open and mild. Its tongue, which is pretty short, is pointed like a dart ; and, unless when about to attack some venomous serpent, it is not very active in its motion. Its tail is slender and sharp-pointed : its skin is exceedingly beautiful ; the ground of it being white covered with undulating marks, in which yellow, blue, and brown, are intermixed in a most agreeable manner. This serpent, which is of a mild and gentle nature, suffers itself to be approached and handled. The largest are about six feet in length, and as thick as the arm. They are mortal enemies to the venomous snakes, which they attack wherever they meet them ; and they seem to consider it as their duty to deliver mankind from them. It is this utility, perhaps, which has procured them the adoration with which they are honoured. The father of the whole, which they say comes from Ardra, is still alive, as they imagine, in a temple, where he is surrounded by priests devoted to his service. They receive there immense presents in valuable articles and provisions.

The king sets an example of this devotion; but it is said from interest, because he shares in the profit. Young women, touched by this serpent, are seized with a kind of phrenzy which cannot be cured but in private apartments, where they are kept some time by the priests at the expense of their parents. They are attacked by this phrenzy in public; and no one can assign a cause for it. They are conducted away by old women appointed for that purpose. In the time of the traveller who relates these facts, the king's daughter was no more exempted from this phrenzy than others; and was subjected to the like treatment. These serpents every-where glide about, and are every where respected. However inconvenient they may be, great care must be taken not to do them any hurt. Some Englishmen having found one of them in a magazine killed it, as they were ignorant of its inviolability; but they were all massacred. The grand-serpent is attended not only by priests, but also by priestesses, who are widows or old maids. These priestesses recruit their number by carrying away during fifteen nights, from every part of the kingdom, all the young women they can find. These megæras initiate their pupils into every refinement of gallantry; and sell, to the highest bidder, their favours, in the price of which they participate; but if nothing is to be gained, they become the most vigilant guardians

of their honour: not so much through a principle of virtue, say certain authors, as through spite—a common fault in old maids.

The government of Juida is monarchical. The punishment of death is seldom employed. If a grandee be guilty of any crime, the king detaches four or five hundred of his women to plunder and pull down his house. This sentence is soon executed; for no one dares to resist them. A creditor who is not able to recover a debt due to him seizes the first slave he meets, without taking the trouble to enquire to whom he belongs. The master, to get back his slave, is obliged to discharge the debt, and then causes the debtor to pay him. For this reason, people, in general, take care to arrest the slaves of the rich. The crown is hereditary; and the son succeeds the father, but with the consent of the great men of the kingdom. The heir apparent is educated like a plain individual of the lowest rank; and no one is allowed to let him know his extraction. When his father's life is prolonged, he grows old in this ignorance, and in that of business; so that he finds himself incapable of mounting the throne, and the great take advantage of his bad government. The king of Juida is crowned by a nobleman of Ardra, who is sent for with great pomp. When he arrives, he approaches the prince, makes a profound bow, and addresses him in a short speech. He then takes



off his helmet, and holding it between his hands, turns towards the people, and says with a loud voice: "Behold your king. Be faithful to him, " and your prayers shall be heard by the king of " Ardra, my master." This expression seems to indicate a kind of vassalage on the part of the sovereign of Juida; but it extends no farther than words.

The king's revenues arise from certain duties on merchandize, fines, and confiscations; but chiefly from the productions of his lands, which are cultivated by serfs. The king is present at the cultivation of them, which is conducted by the great amidst the sound of musical instruments. The implements of husbandry, and the arms of the labourers, move together in cadence. These slaves, who often work against their inclination, might be considered as the happiest people in the world. They never approach the king but with marks of respect, which amount almost to adoration. No one is permitted to see him drink. If those who have an opportunity of knowing, are asked where the king sleeps, they reply by another question: "Where does " God sleep?"

By the ceremony of the coronation of the kings of Juida, it might be judged that there is a great intimacy between him and that of Ardra. The latter kingdom, being governed by a weak prince, became exposed to the arms of

Trudo Audati, king of Dahomey, who from the interior part of the country had pushed his conquests as far as Ardra, where he intended to stop; but having discovered that the court was distracted with intestine broils, by the help of which it would not be impossible to get possession of that fine country, he led thither his troops flushed with their victories over other people. The king of Ardra, without loss of time, requested assistance from the king of Juida; representing to him that it was not his interest to suffer him to be crushed by an enemy, who might afterwards attack him. In consequence of this suspicion, the king of Juida not only involved himself in a war with which he had no concern, but made use of some unguarded expressions which displeased Trudo Audati. This prince, after having defeated the king of Ardra, whose head he caused to be cut off, threw himself into the kingdom of Juida; and, without experiencing any resistance, advanced straight forwards to Sabee, or Xavier, the capital.

He was indebted for this facility of conquest to the state in which the kingdom happened to be at that period. During several preceding reigns, the kings had lived in the most stupid indolence. Luxury and effeminacy, the effects of great riches, had crept in among the inhabitants, formerly so laborious. They were intoxi-

cated with prosperity, and entirely subdued by pleasure. The king of Dahomey had, therefore, only to appear with his cannibal hordes, in order to put to flight the timid multitude. The governors of the frontiers, being neither encouraged nor assisted, made peace on as favourable terms as they could. Plundering, ravaging, and driving before him an immense multitude, hurried on by terror, Trudo Audati arrived at the river, the only defence of the city. As he did not flatter himself with the hope that the passage would not be disputed, he encamped to give his soldiers time to breathe; but, instead of military preparation and means of defence, he saw priests, followed by crowds of people, come every evening and morning to offer up sacrifice to the great serpent, and afterwards return with loud shouts.

During these ridiculous ceremonies, the king of Dahomey caused search to be made for a ford; which being found, two hundred soldiers passed the river, and marched towards the town with their colours displayed, and amidst the sound of musical instruments. They took possession of the palace, from which the king with difficulty escaped; and having set fire to it, Trudo was informed, by the flames, of their success. He then crossed the river with his whole army, and found, what he never could have believed had he not seen it, that all the inhabitants had aban-



doned to the enemy their property, women, children, and gods, without attempting to defend them. The gods were the first victims of the king of Dahomey. While plundering the houses, his troops made a general massacre. The chief men of Juida escaped with their king to a barren island, where the monarch made some fruitless attempts to recover his throne. The conqueror being already master of the kingdom of Ardra, placed that of Juida under the government of a viceroy, and allowed to the inhabitants, whom he permitted to remain in their houses, the free exercise of their ancient religion, their laws, and their customs. This event took place in the year 1630.

Trudo Audati having never seen a white man, beheld with a kind of surprize the first presented to him, who was an English captain found in the town. He was, however, soon reconciled to his colour, and took pleasure in his conversation. The principal object of his questions was commerce, of which he had before no idea. When its utility, and the method of carrying it on, were explained to him, he shewed a great desire for putting it in practice. The Englishman, like a true merchant, requested some diminution in the duties; representing to him, that as he was a greater prince than the king of Juida, he hoped he would treat him with more indulgence. The king of Dahomey, a barbarian,

who might have been supposed incapable of justice or politeness, replied: "Being a greater prince, I might reasonably exact higher duties; but as you are the first English captain I have seen, I will treat you like a new-married wife, to whom nothing at first is refused." A Portuguese mestizo, rather black than white, who was in the prince's train, related to the Englishman several of Trudo's exploits, which seemed to shew that in war he was as cunning as valiant. He bestowed great praise also on his mildness and humanity; and informed him, that if he allowed the use of human flesh it was in order that he might not thwart the taste of the nation. He added, that he had never ate of it himself, but that it was sold publicly in his camp. The Englishman saw it exposed in the shambles:—a horrid spectacle, which made the hair of the wretched Judaians stand on end, and filled them with the utmost terror.

#### ARDRA.

The kingdom of Ardra is much larger than that of Juda, on which it borders; but it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent. The reason assigned is, that the two sexes marry at a too early period. The most unrestrained libertinism prevails in this country. The grandees are acquainted with the Portuguese language, which they read and write. Such of the

lower classes as can do neither, have small cords on which they make knots; and as each of these has a particular signification, they can thus communicate their thoughts to a great distance. It is astonishing with what facility they combine and retain the ideas attached to each knot; but it is necessary that they should be previously acquainted with their meaning. A third person cannot understand them. Our diplomatic decyphers would be much embarrassed with such writing. The Ardraians are fond of loading themselves with clothes on occasions of ceremony; but in general they leave the upper part of the body bare from the girdle, and both sexes go entirely naked till they attain to the age of twelve or thirteen. Birth and fortune are both disregarded in marriages. A man of the lowest condition may make pretensions to a woman of the first quality. The king's chief spouse, who is always she who has brought forth the first male child, is distinguished by the title of queen. She has the strange privilege of selling the rest of the king's concubines to supply her wants, when the king does not take care to make sufficient provision for that purpose. A woman who brings forth twins is dishonoured; as if it were not possible that both the children could belong to the same man. Agriculture is held in estimation by the people of this country, and is carried on with great activity; but they do



not employ animals. They cultivate the ground with their own hands, without using a plough, and it produces more abundantly.

The chief priest is called *marabou*. He is the second person in rank, and the prime-minister. Their gods are *fetiches*, highly respected; much consulted and loaded with presents, which their priests cause to be brought to them. They believe in one supreme god, of whom they have a very imperfect idea; and the same is the case in regard to the nature of the soul, which they make to die with the body, or to pass into some other. The high-priest pretends to foretell future events, after he has conversed with a statue of the size of a young child, which stands in the hall of audience. This statue is white, and represents the devil. In every town there is a house of education for females, under the inspection of the *marabou*. Each lord is obliged to send thither his wife, and to let her remain there for some time. The principal part of the education consists in learning various kinds of dances. The king's children exercise different trades; and apply, in particular, to commerce. When they enter into the military state, they are never advanced to any command; but whatever may be their profession, they are always treated with much respect by the people. By the police laws of this country, he who occupies a house in which a fire breaks out is punished with death.

Such accidents are, therefore, exceedingly rare. We have already seen that the inhabitants of Ardra suffered themselves to be subdued by the king of Dahomey. They had been before exposed to a like danger from a people in the interior part of the country; but were delivered from it by the superstition of their enemies. This formidable nation was that of the I-oes, whose chief fetiche is the sea, which they are prohibited by their priests from either approaching or seeing. The people of Ardra secured themselves from a total invasion by retiring to the coasts.

## EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

All the slave coast is interspersed with settlements and forts belonging to the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, Danes, and other nations; but it may be said that they are cemented with blood, since so much of it has been shed by the blacks on the one side, who at different times have revolted against the usurpers, and by the white men on the other, who, through commercial jealousy, have been engaged in wars among themselves. It would appear that the Europeans, when they land on these coasts, assume the ferocity of the country. They no longer retain respect for each other, nor compassion for the unhappy negroes. They not only familiarize themselves with buying, selling,

and examining them like beasts, but they even brand marks on them with their own hands; tear the child from the mother, and the wife from her husband, without being affected by their lamentable cries; crowd them together in ships, attached by a chain to the bench which serves them as a bed, where they are condemned to respire air rendered infectious by their breath, except during a few hours of the day, and sometimes only once in two days, when they are permitted to quit the gloomy hold, to enjoy a short view of the sun. Some Europeans, less hardened, and particularly those who make the voyage for the first time, confess that they cannot help being melted into tears at the moment when these unhappy victims of European avarice quit the shores of the country which gave them birth. The soul is penetrated by their sighs and lamentations, their reluctance to quit their native land, and their emotions of grief on separating from their friends. Their despair is the more violent, as they depart in full persuasion that they are carried away to be butchered and devoured. Unfortunate beings! death would be preferable to the fate which awaits them in the colonies. Will means never be devised to abolish so infamous a traffic?

The misunderstanding among the Europeans, and their quarrels, followed by destructive wars, have avenged in some measure, and still avenge,



the Africans for the bad treatment they have experienced from the whites. When they arrive on these coasts, they seem to vie with each other in perfidy and cruelty. It is not necessary that they should be at war in Europe to make them lay snares for each other, and carry on bloody wars in Africa:—competition is a sufficient motive for jealousy. They excite that of the blacks against their rivals in industry, and give vent to their malice by actions unknown to these barbarous tribes. To what crimes are not men incited by the insatiable thirst of gold! To tear it from those who covet it as much as themselves, nation against nation, the Portuguese, French, English and Dutch, excite the wretched blacks, the instruments of their avarice; and, by calumnies and massacres, render them, if they can, irreconcilable enemies to their competitors. If the English see the Dutch about to establish an advantageous correspondence with a nation rich in gold and ivory, they assassinate a few women belonging to it; and, with great art, throw the odium of the atrocity on the Dutch. The nation, too credulous, immediately quarrels with them, and the English profit by the rupture. Hence that deliberate hatred which calculates, with mercantile nicety, what may be gained by the ruin or death of a commercial rival, and which stifles every sentiment of humanity. Some Englishmen, in a small vessel, being overtaken

by a storm within hail of a Dutch ship, which was in a better state to withstand the fury of the elements, requested assistance; but the Dutch captain replied coolly: "Do you imagine that we are much interested in your situation?" "But we are about to perish!" "Perish," returned the Dutchman, "and may God have mercy on your souls."

The French boast of having first discovered the coast of Guinea, and the first returns from that country were, it is said, brought to Dieppe. The inhabitants manufactured from their ivory a number of trinkets and toys, which gained them a reputation they still enjoy. The Portuguese, however, dispute with them the priority; and it appears that both nations touched on the coast almost at the same time, about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Dutch did not go thither till towards the end of the sixteenth century, a hundred and fifty years later; and the English arrived there nearly about the same period. This coast is so extensive that the Europeans in sharing it had no occasion to entertain any destructive jealousy; but commerce is like ambition, and never knows where to stop. But this competition has been of some use to the negroes; it has made them acquainted with the price of European merchandize, which must have remained unknown to them; and they have by these means acquired a profit, which if

it has not rendered them opulent, has at least made them comfortable.

It is doing too much honour to these petty states to call them kingdoms, and to give the appellation of kings to their chiefs: several of them, however, assume that title. Axim is called a kingdom, but Ante only a country. In the like manner, we are told of the kingdoms of Commendo and Fetu, the country of Saboo, the kingdom of Fantin, Aquamboo, and many others, the monarchs of which consider themselves as elegantly dressed, if, when they give audience to the Europeans, they can put on, without a shirt or vest, a scarlet coat, which they have received as a present, and cover their woolly hair with a gold-laced hat. We are told likewise of a queen of Angonna, a country governed by a woman: this princess possessed a great and magnanimous soul, with much courage and prudence. She never would marry, that she might reserve her authority undivided; but she kept a young slave, who, under pain of death, was obliged to confine his services to her alone. She, however, changed him with great modesty, in order that she might have only one at a time. It is computed that more than seven thousand pounds of gold are imported to Europe every year from Guinea. The Portuguese have no longer any settlements in that country, but they still trade thither. Those of the



French are far inferior to the English and Dutch settlements, but they are sufficient to supply their West-India islands with slaves.

#### PARTICULARITIES OF THE GOLD COAST.

The inhabitants of the gold coast, if we can believe travellers, are addicted to every vice: they are cunning and deceitful; dissemblers, flatterers, thieves, gluttons, and drunkards; avaricious and incontinent to excess. They are so much the more dangerous with these qualities as they are ingenious, have a ready conception, and an excellent memory. Every thing might be apprehended from such an assemblage, were it not corrected by indolence, laziness, and a passion for singing and dancing. When engaged in their amusements, if any one came to tell them that the whole country was on fire, they would reply, "Let it burn." Both sexes are handsome and well made. The woman have become fond of dress only since they were first visited by the Europeans; they are addicted to gallantry, and very enticing in their behaviour; they seldom lose their labour, and their husbands by a shameful tolerance encourage their amours, which they find profitable, but they punish adultery among themselves. All the negroes use frequent ablutions, and attend much to the cleanliness of their persons. This coast abounds unfortunately with mestizos, in

consequence of the libertinism of the whites with the female negroes ; in regard to vice they are the refuse of both races. Their equivocal colour, which inclines to yellow spotted with black and white, renders their appearance horrid when they grow old.

The negroes do not attain to a great age. Potatoes, yams, putrid fish, and a few handfuls of maize, reduced to a kind of paste with palm-oil, form their usual food. On solemn occasions they kill an ox or a sheep, and also poultry. If they eat little, they drink a great deal of palm-wine and brandy. The women, who are as fond of these liquors as the men, make abundant use of them, and even accustom their children to them. The most important of these occasions, when great slaughter is made among their cattle and poultry, are their marriages, the ceremonies of which however are exceedingly simple. When a young man conceives an affection for a young woman he asks her consent, and if she refuses her father obliges her to comply. A festival is then celebrated, and the bride receives a new dress, and enters among the other wives, who are always very numerous, and enjoy rank according to their riches.

Among the opulent class two of the principal ones are exempted from labour. The first is she who appears to be the oldest, or the mother of the first born : the second, named *bossun*, is conse-

crated to the domestic idol, and is generally a beautiful slave; besides the privilege of doing nothing, the husband is obliged to give her one night every week; but through old age or caprice she may be reduced to the rank of the rest. The girls are exceedingly free in their conduct, and the boys, when they have scarcely got beyond the age of infancy, are remarkably petulant. But notwithstanding this facility, it is necessary that there should be in every village one or more *abelecre*s, or public women; when they cannot be found the young men apply to the old ones, who procure them. They are instructed by the matrons, and form a public treasure of more value than riches. When the Europeans have been robbed, they sometimes carry away the *abelecre*s as hostages. The whole village then rises up against the criminal, and the stolen goods are restored. Pregnant women are highly respected; they bring forth with great ease, and the nature of the climate renders unnecessary the precautions employed by the women in Europe. Circumcision is practised. At first children receive only three names;—that of the day of their birth, that of the father or mother, and that of the grand-father or grand-mother, according to their sex: but this triple nomenclature may be increased to infinity, in regard to the men, by their qualities or noble actions, which become so many surnames that form a list extremely dif-



scult to be remembered. As their successions are not direct, they appear to the Europeans so confused as to be entirely incomprehensible, but the negroes can explain them with wonderful ease. The ceremonies which they use in salutation when they meet or visit each other, would also be a laborious study to the former, were they obliged to employ them. Great men never approach each other till after two hours spent in receiving and answering messages by their servants; the case is the same when they take leave, and the messages are not ended even when they have lost sight of each other. Nothing can be so lively as their markets and fairs; if the sound of a musical instrument is heard, all trade and business gives way to the music. The women listen with attention, while their eyes sparkle with pleasure; the men excited to joy begin to move their limbs with great agility, and in a little time the whole assembly are in motion, capering through each other, and they continue in this manner all the way till they get home. Every day at sun-set there is in each village a rustic ball. Their dancing, on the first view, appears to be merely stamping with the feet, accompanied with contortions of the limbs, and a hollow murmuring noise or shouts. The performers advance in two bands, intermix with each other and recede, beat the ground with their feet, hang down their heads, and pronounce a few words as they pass. Their

movements are sometimes quick and sometimes slow, but exhibit a kind of disorder, which, however, is not destitute of method, as it is renewed with the most perfect imitation. With these gambols they seem highly delighted, but they are not fond of indulging in them before strangers.

In regard to the priests of the *fetiches*, their authority over the negroes, whether sick or in health; their cunning; their method of making superstition take deep root in the mind, and of enriching themselves at the expense of their credulous devotees; together with the fetiches themselves, the power ascribed to them, the respect paid to them, and their religious rights; have all such a resemblance to what has been already said, that it is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject. Some believe in God alone, and some believe in the existence of a god and a devil. In regard to the former, they do not think it necessary to worship the deity, for they say, what obligation are they under to him? what has he done for them? are they not forced to cultivate the ground in order to procure maize and potatoes? to plant trees, if they wish to have fruit? to make nets, if they wish to eat fish? whereas the Europeans have all these without putting themselves to much trouble; and, what is still more, they imagine that the Europeans find ready made all the utensils and toys which they bring to their country, and

that they have nothing to do but to collect them. "Let the Europeans then," say they, "adore a god who is so good to them; for us, we offer presents to the devil alone, because he can do us injury." There are places, however, where they are not afraid of offending him, and where they drive him from their villages with a loud noise. During the eight days which precede this expulsion, they are permitted to indulge in satire, and men, women, and children, are at liberty to say all the ill they know of each other, and to make known in their songs each other's frauds and villanies. Those who fear these discoveries are, in general, the rich and powerful, who have no other means of preventing them than by supplying the people with strong liquors, and their invectives are then changed into panegyric.

The whole kingdom is governed by the monarch, but each village has a chief named *caboceros*, who, under his authority, is charged to maintain good order, to prevent and put an end to quarrels, and to cause the police to be respected. The rich form themselves into a class, who may be considered as the nobility of the country; and by their liberalities, presents, and entertainments, to the people, they obtain the right of having several trumpets sounded before them, and two bucklers carried in triumph throughout the whole village, amidst the sound



of musical instruments, preceded by their wives, who dance, sing, and send forth shouts of joy. These nobility enter into a kind of brotherhood, and assemble, at certain fixed periods, to enjoy a feast. When these days of ceremony are ended, they return to the class of the people. Even the king's themselves do not deviate much from it, and they readily appear in public to converse with their subjects. They pour out palm wine or brandy, which they present to the populace in a gourd, and when they have drunk they become exceedingly familiar; but of whatever kind this dignity may be, it occasions war and disputes here as in other countries.

#### IVORY COAST.

The inhabitants of the Ivory Coast are less hospitable than those of the Gold Coast. They are exceedingly suspicious of strangers, and the latter in their turn dread them as a deceitful, savage people; it is even believed that they are cannibals. When they conceive a fondness for any thing, and it is not given to them, or if they are not allowed to take it, they seem highly displeased. It is very astonishing that it has never yet been ascertained whether the elephants' teeth are procured by the death of the animal, or whether it casts them every year, as the stag does its horns. The latter is the most probable, because elephants' teeth are often

found in those countries which the animal frequents, even when there is no appearance of the carcase in the neighbourhood; besides, what a number of them must die to give the quantity of ivory which this coast furnishes! On account of this abundance, it is called the *Teeth Coast*. Some assert that ten thousand pounds weight of it are sold in one day; but we ought undoubtedly to understand here a whole year.

As the inhabitants of this country reside near a stormy and deep sea, they are good swimmers and excellent divers. There is a kingdom here named Guimera, which in 1723 was governed by a king, called Afamouchon. A chevalier Damon found means to give him a taste for the French manners, and was so well treated by him as to excite the jealousy of the English. In this part of Africa there are serpents thirty-six feet in length, which swallow men entire. It is subject to furious tempests, dreadful storms of thunder, prodigious falls of rain, and hurricanes which overturn every thing, and which are followed by calm and serene weather. If a comparison can be made between things totally different, we might say that the character of the inhabitants resembles their climate;—mild and pacific at one time, and the next moment irascible and worked up into a passion, so as to be ready to massacre all those who fall in their way.

Certain contrasts are found also in their manners, the purity of which has been praised by some travellers, while others say that they are void of modesty, and live under no restraint; and, that nothing may be wanting to complete the contrast, the women, we are told, except in regard to colour, would be considered in Europe as beauties, on account of their regular features, animated looks, and fine delicate shape, while the men are coarse, stupid, and dull. But it is to be observed, that there are few nations on this coast, respecting whom contradictory accounts are not given by travellers.

The negroes are great admirers of our curiosities, trinkets, and locks, but particularly our watches. They are however still more astonished at our art of making paper speak, as they express it, which to them is a prodigy. If they are dispatched with a letter, the contents of which have been communicated to them, they cannot be persuaded that the fantastical figures inscribed on it are able to convey to the reader the thoughts of an absent person, though they see it by experience. They sometimes ask it ironically what it contains, as if they meant to surprize it in a fault; and their astonishment is inexpressible when they are told what the subject of it is: they can form no idea of writing, and imagine that the white men have a familiar demon by whom they are instructed on these



occasions. This opinion, which is somewhat similar to that of the natives of the Gold Coast, who believe that every thing brought to them by the Europeans is produced spontaneously, without any pains or trouble on their part, renders the negroes like our children, or certain inhabitants of our great cities, whose credulity is often abused.

## COAST OF MALAGUETTA.

Malaguetta is a certain kind of pepper, inferior to that of Asia, which was some time in vogue, though it is little sought after at present. It was on this coast that the French first carried on trade ; traces of their residence here still exist, in the name of a village called Paris, and in the memories of the inhabitants, who have had French surnames hereditary in their families for more than a century. They taught them also to assume the names of saints, such as Peter, Paul, John, and Andrew. A pretty ample description of their customs has been given by different travellers ; but it is not known how they could acquire such minute information, since they confess that they were not acquainted with their language, and that it is impossible to learn it. I shall content myself, therefore, with what could be gathered from observation. The natives are tall and well made ; they have less covering to their bodies than any other people

on the coast; and are fond of presents, which they call *datis*, and which they ask with importunity. Their priests are called *marabouts*. The principal wife is interred with her husband. They have among them mulattoes, descended from the Portuguese, who carry on a great trade in the interior part of the country; and who would render it much more extensive were they regularly supplied with European goods. The king resides on the river Sestos, which is navigable for ships.

#### SIERRA LEONA.

The country of Sierra Leona was so called by the Portuguese, on account of its mountains filled with lions. It possesses all the beauties which, in a warm country, can arise from groves, forests, and cascades. The inhabitants are not unworthy of such a delightful residence. They are mild, sociable, and obliging; not at all self-interested, and exceedingly industrious. The women take delight in acting the fetiche; that is to say, in exhibiting themselves in a certain dress, as if consecrated, to attract the notice of the men. Their principal ornament on these occasions is a very delicate stripe, made with red or yellow varnish, around the forehead. They form circles also, in the same manner, around their arms and body. The negroes are highly delighted with this whimsical ornament.

In speaking of dress, I must not omit that of their advocates or defenders of law-suits. They wear a mask on the visage; have castanets in their hands and bells on their legs; and all these are for the purpose of keeping alive the attention of the judges. This mode might not be altogether useless in Europe. The women likewise wear on their legs bells of copper or silver, which make a pretty agreeable harmony when they dance. Being passionately fond of this exercise, they imitate, with great pleasure, the European dances. They are more modest and more reserved than the other women of the country: but in regard to the men, some say they are jealous, and others praise them for their condescension. Christianity has been known here formerly; but, at present, it seems to be forgotten, and all the negroes, from the king downwards, wear amulets, and other badges of superstition.

MONOU, QUOJA, HONDO, MANDINGO, FOULI,  
JALOF, &c.

There are still a great many other nations in Guinea, some of which lie a great way up the country, and have no direct intercourse with the coast. Others are connected with the sea only by a small tongue of land, and therefore are very little known to the Europeans. The obscure accounts given by the natives of these countries, make us acquainted with the names of kingdoms,



the extent and even position of which are very uncertain. Such is the empire of Monou, the kingdoms of Quoja, Hondo, Mandingo, Fouli, Jalof, and several others. These people have related many things, in regard to their manners and customs, which are similar to those already known; but one thing peculiar to them, if true, is what is said respecting their social disposition. The following portrait does honour to these people too much degraded by prejudice.

They are milder and more moderate, it is said, than the negroes on the coast, and seem to hold a mean rank between the latter and the inhabitants of Dahomey, the Jagas, and other ferocious tribes in the interior parts. They are not fond of shedding human blood; nor does ambition kindle up among them the flames of war. They never engage in it but through necessity, and for their own defence. They live in the greatest harmony; are always ready to assist each other, and to give their friends, when in need, part of their clothes and provisions, and even to anticipate their wants by voluntary presents. On account of this flattering picture, some authors say that the travellers from whom it is taken were desirous of exhibiting to us a new utopia, and by this reflexion they raise unsurmountable doubts respecting these perfections, which are therefore considered as merely imaginary. What is asserted, in particular, of their circumspection in un-

dertaking war, is contradicted by the avowal that there are conquerors among them; that they send many slaves to be sold on the coast; that each nation is dependent on the other, and that the commerce between them is not free. All these must be owing to force; and consequently to wars of ambition and interest.

As little purity prevails among the manners of the people; for both the men and the women are equally devoted to sensual pleasures. The latter employ philtres and potions, made of herbs, to invigorate their husbands. The education given among the Quojas to young boys and girls, in schools established for the purpose, may be classed among their libidinous incitements. Young persons indeed are taught to hunt, to fish, and to handle arms; but particularly dances, accompanied with immodest gestures, and songs composed of expressions suited to them. The instruction given to girls is founded on obscenity also. Those of both sexes who receive an education of this kind form a sort of powerful society, of which the king is the head. The high-priest prepares a composition called *belli*, which he shews to the people as something sacred. It has no certain figure. The *bellimo*, or high-priest, gives it one at pleasure; but whatever may be its form, the people are obliged to shew it the utmost respect, and those who fail to do so experience the severest chastisement

from the *belli*. The *belli*, however, before he can punish must have the king's consent; without which his power is of no avail. This is a political restriction very remarkable.

The *Quojas* have also a great veneration for the *jannanins*, who are the spirits of their deceased relations. They believe that they are always hovering around them; and that on important occasions they give sensible signs of their presence. When a woman is accused of adultery, by the deposition of her husband, she is declared innocent upon her own oath; but, after taking the oath, if proofs are adduced against her, she is conducted in the evening to the public square, where the council is assembled to try her. The *jannanins* are first invoked, and the woman's eyes are covered with a bandage, in order that she may not see the spirits who are ready to carry her off. When she has thus been left some time in a state of apprehension respecting her fate, an old member of the council represents to her how shameful her conduct has been, and threatens her with severe punishment. If, after this harangue, she shews signs of contrition, she is made to hear a confused noise of voices, which it is pretended are those of the *jannanins*, who declare that her crime, though deserving rigorous punishment, is forgiven, because it is the first offence. The same voices impose on her some fasts and other mortifications. It is recommended to her to live



with so much chastity, that she may not even take a male child in her arms, or touch the dress of a man. If she relapse into libertinism, and the fact be proved, the high-priest, accompanied by the whole society of the belli, repair with a loud clamour to the house of her husband, where they seize her; and, amidst hooting, carry her round the town. She is then conducted, with the same escort, to the forest consecrated to the *jannanins*, whose voices are no longer heard. In order that the power of the *jannanins* may continue to be dreaded by the women, it is no doubt necessary to remove them from the council in which these spirits are supposed to be present. We may, therefore, believe that it is the male brotherhood alone of the belli who compose it.

#### NEGROES OF THE INTERIOR PARTS OF AFRICA.

The dress of the negroes in the interior parts consists of a kind of surplice or large shirt. I here speak of the rich; for the rest go almost naked. They make only one meal a day in the evening; but more on account of their health than through temperance. To eat freely in such a warm climate is dangerous. They generally drink water, or a little palm-wine; but they are all remarkably fond of brandy. In one canton, a suitor goes in great pomp to conduct his future

spouse home; but in another he is obliged to carry her off by stealth. In some districts he is fond of meeting with a virgin; in others, is entirely indifferent on the subject. In one place, he shews her great marks of affection and respect, when he receives her into his house; in another he commands her, in a harsh manner, to go and fetch water, and other things necessary in the family, in order that he may accustom her to obedience. No wife ever eats with her husband; not even she who is called his *spouse at hand*, because she is always near him, and mistress of the rest. It is not known in what manner she acquires this superiority. The women soon come to maturity; but they almost cease to have children about the time that the women in Europe begin. All the laborious part of the domestic economy is consigned to them. They choose rather to expose themselves to be sold as slaves, by favouring a lover, than to remain with a husband for whom they entertain no affection. They indulge the white men in great privileges, which are allowed by their husbands. They shew great tenderness for their children: the boys are suffered to do what they please—they are destined to idleness; but the girls being born to labour, are accustomed to it from their infancy. Their funerals, as in other countries, are accompanied with cries and lamentations; and even women, who have no great cause to be sad, are

the foremost to distinguish themselves in these melancholy scenes. On these occasions a great deal is consumed in eating and drinking. Dancing and singing form a part of all their ceremonies, and even when they pay visits. Their musicians and poets are *improvisatori*; and like our's celebrate the praises of those who pay them: people who have no other profession are called *guriots*, or *juddies*; and one of them is kept in the pay of every great man. The languages of the negroes, in general, are soft, flowing, and harmonious; but they are poor and destitute of energy. Their language used in commerce, and in their intercourse with other nations, which extends from the African coasts of the ocean to the interior parts of the country, and even to India, is corrupted Portuguese:—an incontestable proof of the empire which that nation has in this immense country. The Arabic begins to be spoken towards the shore of the Gambia and the Senegal. It is the language of the learned and polite part of the inhabitants, whose religion is mahometanism. They have workmen of all kinds, good and bad. The best and most lucrative trade is that of the *sepateros*, who make amulets, and the small boxes which contain them. No one ever disputes respecting the price of these articles: not to give what is asked would be treating with contempt every thing respectable in the charm. They build in a very irregular manner, and without taste, at least according to the European



way of thinking ; but this method suits them, because they are fond of sinuosities and windings. Their fields are often laid waste by clouds of locusts ; and this scourge, added to indolence, a scourge more common, occasions most dreadful famines.

The negro armies are never embarrassed by large convoys of provisions and ammunition. Each soldier carries his own provisions, and sometimes a quantity sufficient to serve him during the whole time of the expedition. Their arms are bows and arrows, pikes, javelins, muskets, and bucklers. They manage their horses with singular dexterity ; but all their address forsakes them in the field of battle, and only enables them to fly with more speed. In general, they are bad soldiers and bad mahometans. When they profess that religion, they combine with the mussulman practices a number of superstitions, among which is that of the *grisgris*, a kind of amulets, consisting sometimes of toys consecrated by expressions in the Koran ; and sometimes of passages from that book, written upon parchment, and inclosed in boxes sold to them by the *sepateros*. They suspend them around the neck ; from their hair, ears, arms, and legs, and from every part of the body, where they believe, according to the indication of the marabou, that they will be most useful.

The marabous, of whom I have already spoken, form also among the negroes in the

interior parts a numerous body, distinguished from the rest of the people, not by their dress, which is very little different, but by their manner of life. They affect a great deal of gravity and regularity; and have particular towns and districts of land belonging to their tribe, where they admit no other negroes but their slaves. They form no alliances but among themselves. All their male children are educated for the service of their country. In many points they adhere to the law contained in Leviticus; a book which they respect most next to the Koran: but it is allowed that their usages are a profound mystery to the people. A traveller, who is suspected of being too much prejudiced in their favour, says, that the marabous are faithful observers of the mussulman laws, and particularly in regard to temperance; that they abstain from wine and spirituous liquors; and that their probity and honesty in commerce and business are generally known. Charity is a virtue in which they are never deficient towards each other; and they never suffer one of their number to be sold unless he has deserved it by some great crime.

They have schools open for the reception of all children, whom they wish to be instructed in reading and writing; but there are private ones for their own. Besides reading and writing,

they instruct them in the Koran and the principles of the levitical law. They are made acquainted also with the nature of the society of the marabouts, and their connection with the state, though they form a separate body. They are inspired with an inviolable attachment to the interests of the society, and are accustomed to silence and modesty in their words as well as actions. They are taught also the principles of morality, at least so far as they concern the benefit of the society and may be the means of procuring them the respect of the people. The marabouts, indeed, do not lose their labour ; for they are followed and preceded by veneration even in the palaces of their kings. No-where do they experience a refusal or contradiction ; and during the most bloody wars they are at liberty to go from one kingdom to another. They may then be seen freely traversing the different countries with their families and their books to teach religion and wisdom. They generally preach by example ; and their laws are written in a peculiar language different from the vulgar, which none but themselves understand. When they travel they live, as some say, upon alms ; but according to others by trade and the sale of their amulets. It is, however, probable that they employ all these means of subsistence. It is not said that they have a chief and a hierarchy. It would be



difficult for a body to exist without government; and for a government to be carried on without a gradation of powers.

GAMBIA, GOREE, SENEGAL, ZAARA, BILEDULGERID.

Gambia and Senegal are two large rivers, which flow through an immense extent of country. The Senegal is the same as the Niger. The Europeans have proceeded up these rivers as far as they could, both to make themselves acquainted with the nations who inhabit their banks, and to discover the gold mines said to be situated on the mountains in which they have their sources. Goree is an island between the mouths of these two rivers. It is advantageously situated for the commerce carried on by their means; and serves as a magazine for the goods conveyed down them from the interior parts of Africa, and for those which are carried thither from Europe. Zaara is a desert, the borders of which are inhabited by Moorish tribes, who pass it in caravans, and thus establish a communication between the negroes of Guinea and the states of Morocco. Biledulgerid extends a great way, and runs behind Tunis and Tripoli.

On the Gambia, there are many of those Portuguese mestizos of whom I have already spoken. The following account is given of them by a French factor, who went to pay them a visit of

ceremony. "They were clothed," says he, "in black, and had large clokes, which were raised up behind by their long swords. They all had poniards, and a large and long chapelet in the left hand, which rested on the hilt of their sword; large broad-brimmed hats, and long mustaches." The gravity of their compliments was suited to that of their countenances. The object of them remarks, that the women had their mouths full of water to prevent them, as he was told, from neglecting their labour by prattling. The chief article of the commerce carried on by these two rivers—next to gold, ivory, and slaves—is gum, so necessary for the European manufactures, and particularly those of silk. The French procure a great deal of it by the Senegal. They are masters of the island of Goree, and have useful settlements on both rivers. The English and Dutch are no less powerful in the country; but they all employ the treacherous policy of fomenting wars between the petty kings on the banks of these rivers, in order that their markets may be better supplied with slaves.

A part of the desert of Zaara is inhabited by wandering hordes, among whom are three moorish tribes, who have no sovereigns. The richest man among them is the most respected, and acknowledged as the chief of the republic. They are brave, and enured to fatigue. Though

mahometans, it would be impossible to make them undertake a journey to Mecca, because nothing could be gained by it; but they penetrate, without hesitation, to the centre of Africa, where they find gold. They are sure that these will not prove fruitless expeditions; because, if in return for the salt, stuffs, and instruments of iron, which they carry thither, they do not procure gold, ivory, musk, bezoar, and ostrich feathers, they carry off the negroes with whom they go to traffic, and sell them to the Europeans or the Moors of Fez and Morocco. They are much addicted to the chase; and are not intimidated by lions, panthers, and the most ferocious animals. On their Barbary horses, they run down the ostrich, which at first outstrips their fleetest coursers; but it at length grows fatigued. Though pursued by two men, the ostrich of the deserts can never be caught, till overcome by lassitude. It carries its head as high as the largest horse, and extends its wings to the wind. When it holds them motionless they serve it as sails; and when moved they as it were supply the place of oars.

It is not properly ascertained whether these people be Moors or Arabs; but it may be said, that, by living together they partake of both: the Moor has become an Arab, and the Arab a Moor: their manners and usages have, therefore, been confounded together. There is also



a race called the Bereberes, who are believed to be older in the country than the Moors. The women begin here to be reserved and modest. There are no nudities among them; as they are always clothed, and never appear without veils: some of them are even too much loaded with dress for so hot a climate. The inhabitants are dispersed in villages, called *adouars*; and are merely camps, which do not long remain in one place. When they remove their camp, they shut up their grain in a kind of wells, cut out in the rock, called *matamores*, which have narrow mouths, and become wider the deeper they proceed. In proportion as they fill them, they line them with straw; and in this manner the grain may be preserved a long time: when they have closed the mouth they cultivate the earth over them and sow it with corn.

Mothers have for their children a tenderness which renders them attentive to their wants, and exceedingly careful to preserve them from every thing that may hurt them. They do not admit persons of every kind near them; as they are persuaded that there are some whose look alone is sufficient to kill, or to throw into a state of debility, those children on whom they fix their malignant eyes. Being shepherds and wanderers, they are pretty well acquainted with the heavenly bodies; but, in other respects, they are very ignorant. They are excellent for running

or for sudden attacks ; but are bad soldiers in a regular army. Their deserts are exposed to dreadful hurricanes, which raise the sand in such a manner that they are often buried under it ; but as they are acquainted with the seasons when these disasters happen, they take care not to expose themselves to them.

There are some islands in the neighbourhood of the river Gambia. Respecting that of Bissao we are told the following particulars. The inhabitants, both men and women, wear two large iron rings, which, instead of stones, have broad plates of the same metal, and are employed as castanets. By striking them against each other they can communicate their wishes to their friends, without being understood by those who are not initiated in that mode of expression. This is a language for the ears ; as a certain arrangement and disposition of flowers are in the seraglios a language for the eyes. In this island the sovereign may easily acquire riches. An individual makes him a present of his neighbour's house ; the neighbour does not fail to serve him in the same manner ; the king takes possession of them, and they must then either repurchase them or build others. When the king dies, four of his principal lords bear the body, in ceremony, to the place of interment ; and as soon as they have reached it, they raise the coffin in the air, and, holding it in that

position, give it several shakes, and then let it fall on the grandees, who are prostrated at their feet. He on whom the coffin falls, if he is not crushed, is acknowledged as king.

Biledulgerid means the Country of Dates, which are found here in great abundance. It may be called an assemblage of deserts, all contiguous to each other. The inhabitants in general partake of the nature of the soil, and are dry, brown, and meagre: though they live in a climate which is still warmer than that of the negroes they are not black. No part of the country is habitually peopled; but the borders of the large rivers, and some of the mountains which give rise to streams that soon lose themselves in the sand. The plains are destitute of water; and there are some of them in which no wells are found but at the distance of thirty leagues. The inhabitants guide themselves thither by the stars or a compass. Experience has taught them that some birds fly to a determinate distance from certain points; and their presence or absence serves them as a direction. The ancients were acquainted with the country on the frontiers of Biledulgerid towards Tripoli, which they called Mauritania. Some of their monuments are still seen, and some remains of the cities which they built. On the opposite side, Biledulgerid extends, towards Nigritia, to an immense distance. This was the country of the



Getulians, and the Garamantes, the ancestors of the Numidians, who, for a long time, maintained the honour of Africa against the Romans.

### BARBARY.

All that coast of the Mediterranean from Egypt to the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar, including a greater or less depth on the Atlantic Ocean, is called Barbary, probably from *bar*, which signifies a desert; and hence those who were the first inhabitants assumed the name of *Barbares*, or *Berberes*, which they still retain. The cantons next to Egypt are exposed to excessive and almost continual heat. Towards Mount Atlas the cold is pretty severe; but the intermediate districts enjoy a more moderate temperature, and are also the most fertile part of the country. The advantageous situation of Barbary induced the Romans, the Greeks, the Saracens, the Vandals, the Arabs, and the Moors, to render themselves successively masters of it. At present, it is subject to the dominion of the grand-seignior, not so much under the title of possession, as of protection, for which it pays a small tribute. The Turkish militia exercise absolute authority over all the inhabitants, who tremble at the bare sight of a Turkish soldier; but, whether Moors, Arabs, or Bereberes, they all bear the yoke with wonderful submission:

obliged to conceal their riches, if they have any; and to live poorly, and even then uncertain whether their obscurity will secure them from the violence of their tyrants. The Bereberes, in particular, are a model of patience. This virtue must be natural to them, as they have no word in their language to express either murmuring or revolt; or it arises from their resignation to the decrees of Providence, whom they never fail to recal to the remembrance of the christian captives, when they hear them, in their despair, break out in complaints and imprecations.

The masters most to be dreaded by these unhappy wretches are the renegadoes; who, either through interest, or to break their chains, have abjured the christian faith. To make the mahometans believe that they are really converted, they affect to behave with harshness to the christian captives, and even to those of their own nation, whom they often treat more cruelly than the rest: but this conduct is of no avail; for they are abhorred, despised, and suspected even by those who excited them to apostacy. However, as they are, for the most part, men of some talents, they either enrich themselves by trade, or get promoted in the militia, by entering on board their corsairs. Some of them have rendered themselves famous in piracy, and have risen to the first posts in the army and state.

Authors conclude the general picture of the inhabitants of Barbary, by saying, that they are addicted to all the vices with which the Africans are reproached, and of which history unfortunately has furnished too many proofs; that they are liars, cheats, traitors, thieves, and cowards: in a word, it is said that they are addicted to debauchery, and the most infamous irregularities; and that if there is any difference between them and the other Africans, it is that they exceed the latter in all these vices, as they far surpass them in laziness, ignorance, and superstition. The most common religion is the mahometan; but such as can be practised by people of the above description. It often serves as a pretence for the severities exercised against the christian slaves. The Jews, it is said, are not kept under very great restraint; and other people, whether idolaters, or absolutely void of religion, are left at perfect freedom.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, towards the year 1107, the chief of a Moorish tribe, named Techisien, united under his command all the other tribes; subdued with their assistance the Arabs, who had the greatest sway in Africa; and formed a powerful empire in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas. His son Joseph, who was as brave and successful as himself, preserved and increased this empire, and laid the foundation of the city of Morocco. At



the request of the Moorish princes, established in Spain, he appeared twice there at the head of powerful armies. His son and successor, Ali, was killed there in a battle. Brahem, crowned after him, lived in a state of indolence, which afforded an opportunity to an enthusiast, named Abdallah, who was at the head of a sect, a man of talents and political sagacity, to take possession of the throne. On his death, his chief general Abdolmumen, supported by the suffrages of all the rest, was proclaimed sovereign. Being incensed against Morocco, because it had acknowledged a son of Brahem, he laid siege to the town. It was bravely defended by the inhabitants, but he swore not to raise the siege until he had taken it, and made it to pass through a sieve. That his oath might be accomplished, he caused the houses to be pulled down, and the stones to be broken and reduced to powder, which was sifted. He then constructed other palaces and other mosques under his own name; but he had the misfortune to see all those edifices resume the names of the kings, their founders, by which they were before distinguished.

Abdolmumen, after the example of his predecessors, carried the war into Spain; and in this he was imitated by his son Joseph II. and by his grand-son, the celebrated Almanfor, which signifies conqueror. This prince sub-

dued Numidia, and all the country which extends as far as Tripoli, comprehending Morocco, Fez, and Tunis, to the deserts of Lybia. He was acknowledged as sovereign by all the Moors of Spain. He made conquests also among the christians, so that he became the most powerful king who had reigned in Africa since the time of the Arabian caliphs. The conclusion of his life was attended with some singular circumstances. While in Spain, the governor of Morocco thought fit to take possession of the empire of Africa. Almanzor on his return could find no other means to recover his capital than by promising pardon to the rebel, with a solemn oath; but when he appeared before him, the prince was not able to restrain his anger, and ordered his head to be struck off. Next day Almanzor disappeared; search was made after him for some time without effect; but one of his wives who loved him with great tenderness at length found him, it is said, at Alexandria, to which he had fled, and where the monarch had become a baker to expiate his perjury. As he would not return, the emirs conferred the crown on his son, who experienced great misfortunes in Spain, and who died of grief. When intelligence was received of his death, all the governors of the different provinces revolted against his son, who was still a child; and this great empire, towards the

middle of the thirteenth century, was divided into those kingdoms and republics, known by the name of the States of Barbary.

### MOROCCO.

Morocco, between the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, and Taflet.

Morocco, Fez, and Suz, are only the same empire under the denomination of the first. It extends beyond the lastmentioned province, towards the south, as far as the Niger. But the part beyond Suz is almost a barren desert, inhabited chiefly by wandering Arabs, who acknowledge no other sovereigns than their chiefs. The heat of this climate is moderated by the west winds, which blow from the Atlantic Ocean, and by those which come from Mount Atlas, always covered with snow. The country in general is well watered, and if properly cultivated would produce two or three crops in the year; but, except for a few leagues around the towns, it is entirely waste, or is pillaged by the wandering Arabs. The pastures of Mount Atlas furnish those excellent horses called barbs, dromedaries esteemed for their fleetness, and camels, so useful in long journies across the dry and sandy deserts. They are the best in the world. They can travel ten days without drink, and without any other food than what each part of their body furnishes to support them. On these occasions the bunch on their back is seen to decrease in size, then their belly and



buttocks, and they become so weak that they are incapable of sustaining a load of a hundred weight, though, when well fed, they are able to carry one of eight or nine hundred during the longest journeys.

The inhabitants who call themselves the oldest are the Berberes. They retain their ancient customs and language; and as they are not yet entirely subdued, live amidst poverty, in huts, on the mountains. The Arabs wander about from place to place, where they sow corn and feed their flocks; but though they pay some tribute to the emperor of Morocco, they are in reality subject only to cherifs chosen by themselves. Several tribes subsist merely by plunder, and inhabit inaccessible places, from which they descend to commit depredations on the passengers. Travellers are obliged, therefore, to get a billet of protection from one tribe to another, for which they pay a certain sum; it is carried by an Arab on the point of a lance, and serves as a safeguard, which every one respects. The Moors are the offspring of those who were driven out of Spain. They are numerous on the coasts, but, as they have no ships of their own, they carry on no direct trade with foreign nations. They are considered as avaricious, deceitful, superstitious, jealous, revengeful, and treacherous. In these fine qualities they are surpassed only by the Jews, who came also

from Portugal and Spain. Being merchants, factors, and the bankers of the kingdom, they are exposed to excessive taxes, which they alleviate by fraudulent means. The renegadoes are a particular class, as much detested by the other inhabitants as they are by the christians. They are employed in the meanest and most laborious offices; when called to the army, they are placed in the foremost ranks, and if they in the least give way they are cut to pieces without mercy.

In no country are slaves treated with more severity than in Morocco; they all belong to the king, and are never suffered to enjoy the least relaxation from their labours. They are allowed no other food than barley bread fried in oil: often while they put one hand to their mouth, they are employed on some painful and dirty work with the other. Always followed by merciless overseers, who continually beat them if they seek for the least repose, it is not uncommon to see them fall a prey to fatigue, and expire under the blow. During the night they are shut up in a subterranean prison. They descend to it by a ladder of ropes, which is drawn up, and an iron trap-door is then let fall on the mouth of the pit. Their dress consists of a long vest of coarse woollen cloth, with a hood, which serves them as cap, shirt, and breeches: they are never allowed either shoes or stockings.

Women and married persons are exempted from the severest labours, in order that they may produce new slaves; but they are neither better clothed, better lodged, nor better fed than their companions. They are not very solicitous of their renouncing the christian faith, as in that case they would become free. In Morocco there is a distinguished race of Moors, who occupy the first places, and make a great figure in the country; but on account of their influence they are more exposed to the avarice, cruelty, and jealousy of the sovereign, who is despotic: they often pay dearly for their distinction. In the last place, there are found on Mount Atlas a kind of savages, who inhabit caverns, and who live on fruits, and what they procure by hunting. The inhabitants of Morocco consist, therefore, of men of all kinds, of every religion, and of all figures and colours—for even negroes are not wanting.

All the beauties which the liberal hand of nature lavishes on the most favoured countries are found in Morocco:—immense plains, delightful hills, majestic mountains, groves, forests, and rivers which either flowing along with a winding course inundate and fertilize the plains, or hurrying on their foaming streams in impetuous torrents precipitate themselves over the rocks in cascades. The manner in which the natives pass from one side of these falls to the



other is very singular. They place themselves in a basket, large enough to contain ten persons, which by means of a pulley is made to glide along a rope, fastened at the ends to two other pulleys fixed in the rock. If one of these machines happens to break, as is sometimes the case, the passengers fall into the river from the height of fifteen hundred fathoms. In regard to the towns of the empire of Morocco, the principal are Morocco, Fez, Sallee, Tetuan, and Tafilet, all ornamented with beautiful edifices, separated by a kind of huts in which the populace reside; so that luxury is every-where seen accompanied by wretchedness:—a mixture very common in despotic states. The Portuguese still retain on the coast Mazejan, and the Spaniards Ceuta, two points which enable them to keep in awe the inhabitants of Barbary, and also to get rid of their bad subjects, whom they banish thither. Thus Africa is always destined to be peopled by the refuse of other nations.

The king of Morocco has the title also of emperor: he assumes the name of cherif, or chief of the established religion, and he appoints the *alfagui*, who are the ministers of it; and who, by the decisions which they give according to his pleasure, render his ordinances sacred. There is no government, therefore, in the world more absolute or more tyrannical: a gesture or look of the prince is often a sentence of death.

Every one hastens to obey his mandate, for those who lose their lives while carrying it into execution are supposed to go immediately to paradise. Among so many nations, the emperors, being obliged to gain the affection of those whom they suppose most capable of fidelity, have for some time past made choice of the negroes. They entrust them with the protection of their persons, their concubines, and treasures, and raise them to the first dignities of the empire. They are brought from Guinea when young, and are taught nothing but the use of arms, and implicit obedience to the orders of the emperor. In spiritual affairs he affects to allow some superiority to the mufti, but the latter, before he decides, knows well what belongs to the prince. He is heir to all the wealth of his subjects, and children receive nothing but what he is pleased to allow them from the property of their fathers.

His revenues consist in these heritages, and in the sale of employments; frequent gratuities demanded from those who possess them; a tribute paid by all corsairs, which amounts to a neat tenth of the prizes they take; besides what arises from the privilege of buying slaves for fifty crowns each. These slaves he sometimes sells with the profit of a hundred per cent; but he generally keeps them and employs them in his own labours, which also form a branch of

his revenue. He has likewise a tythe of all cattle ; but it costs him some trouble to collect it, as he is obliged, for that purpose, to send out troops, who are not always well received by the Arabs, Moors, and Bereberes, the inhabitants of the country. The jews and christians, for their liberty of trading, pay a capitation tax ; and, in the last place, the christian states pay tribute under the name of presents, in order that he may restrain his corsairs, and suffer only a certain number of them to go out. Nature, however, has imposed a check on the avarice of these states, as they are destitute of good ports : Salee, accounted the best, is always dry at low water ; and is shut up besides by a dangerous bar, so that it is capable of admitting none but vessels of small force, which makes their navy of very little importance. The land forces are neglected in the time of peace : they amount in general to forty thousand men. The infantry are badly armed and ill disciplined ; the cavalry are maintained better ; but the most formidable corps is that of the negroes, who compose the emperor's body-guard, and consist of four or five thousand men, cavalry and infantry, without including those dispersed throughout the provinces. Each governor endeavours to procure an escort of them, both to please the emperor, and for the sake of his own safety. The negroes who form these detached guards



afterwards join those of the emperor, and this promotion is an object of emulation and reward.

That taste for the sciences which formerly prevailed in Africa is now totally lost. Nothing is taught at present in the celebrated university of Fez but reading, writing, and the Koran. A child who can repeat a few chapters of it from memory becomes a little prodigy, and is led about through the town in triumph by his school-fellows. Arithmetic also forms a part of the education given to children in Barbary. The inhabitants learn judicial astrology, and have great confidence in charms, forcery, and amulets. They are rigid observers of mahometanism; but, at the same time, adhere to some practices which are foreign to that religion: they carry provisions to the tombs of their dead, where they assemble in great numbers every Friday; and the women, in particular, never fail to be present at these meetings, which form one of their recreations. The marabouts, whose cells are in the neighbourhood, walk thither with a slow pace and mortified air, having large chaplets in their hands, and mutter over a few prayers. The children are educated in a mortal hatred to the christians: their name is never mentioned without the addition of some imprecation; and even ambassadors are not sheltered from the insults of the populace.

The inhabitants of Morocco shew a singular respect to pilgrims who have returned from Mecca, whom they call hadgis or saints, and even to the animals they rode on, which they maintain without subjecting them to labour, and inter with great ceremony. A man convicted of having been eight days absent from the mosque is, for the first offence, rendered incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice; for the second, condemned to pay a fine; and for the third, burnt alive. The women are not admitted into these places of worship, as they might too much distract the attention of the good mullmen. "Let them propagate their species," say they; "it was for that purpose they were born." They believe, it appears, that after this life they have nothing either to hope or to fear. A christian or a jew who enters a mosque is impaled or burnt alive, unless he become a mullman. The mahometans think it no crime to break their word to infidels, as they call the christians or jews, and to oppress them in every possible manner. All of them, even the emperor himself and his ministers, are remarkably fond of presents, and extremely desirous to obtain them. It is a common proverb among them, that "vinegar received as a present is sweeter than honey which has been purchased." In no place is the *ramadan*, or lent, observed with more strict-

ness. Even children are subjected to this religious duty ; and the crews of their piratical vessels never allow the smallest infraction of it. Their punishments are horrid. Criminals are sawn asunder, lengthwise or across ; impaled alive, or burnt to death at a slow fire.

The *Arabesc*, or modern Arabic, spoken by the inhabitants of the Barbary states, is one of the most extensive languages, as it is used in all the dominions of the grand seignior : it is propagated there, and preserved by the pilgrimages to Mecca. The respect which the people have for the name of God is wonderful, as well as their aversion to oaths, with the use of which they justly reproach the christians. They have not even in their language a word to express blasphemy. Their quarrels never end in murder, and for this reason perhaps, because even when accidental it is never pardoned. A criminal is not accompanied to the place of execution by a crowd of curious spectators. If they meet one they look at him as he passes with an air of compassion, and they cannot comprehend how the people in our cities should be fond of such spectacles. Games of chance are severely prohibited ; our gambling assemblies, so active and so turbulent, afford them another subject of astonishment. When they pay visits they never spend more time than is absolutely necessary for the business which is the object of them. They



never enter into desultory conversation respecting the affairs of their neighbours, or the business of the state. The usual entertainment, on these occasions, is sherbet, coffee, and a pipe of tobacco. They drink and smoke in silence, and then take their leave. Wine and strong liquors are severely forbidden; and even the greatest and most powerful lords, if they indulge in them, must do it in secret. There are two political maxims to which the emperor of Morocco pays particular attention: the first is, to preserve and protect, in his ports, the consuls of the christian nations with which he is at war, in order to keep up the commerce of his states; the second is, to live on good terms with the republics of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, that they may not interrupt each other in their piracies, or be involved in quarrels.

1516.

We have seen that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the death of Almanzor, the empire was divided among the governors or viceroys, who rendered themselves independent. The sovereign power, after this period, passed from hand to hand through several tribes to that of Oatazes, who established the throne at Fez, and sent to Morocco only governors. In the province of Darha there resided a man named Hassan, who called himself a cherif; that is to say, a descendant of Mahomet; and who had procured great respect by his virtue and his

piety. He had three sons, Abdelquivir, Hamet, and Mahomet, whom he educated in the same principles. That he might raise their reputation among the devotees, he caused them to undertake a journey to Mecca, where they acquired so much credit, that on their return the people flocked round them in crowds wherever they passed to kiss their garments. Hassan and his sons affected extacies, and an extraordinary zeal for religion; so that they were at length considered as envoys from heaven to defend it. The old cherif sent his two sons to Fez, where they insinuated themselves so much in the favour of the king, that he gave Hamet, the eldest, a professor's chair in the celebrated college of that city, and appointed Mahomet, the youngest, preceptor to his children.

Taking advantage of the king's favour and their influence in the college, they found means to get themselves appointed governors of Suz, Morocco, Hoa, Tremecen, and Duquela. This power was granted to them notwithstanding the remonstrances of Muley Nacer, the minister of Oatazes, who never ceased to exclaim that there was great reason to be suspicious of these hypocrites. They had no sooner arrived in the provinces of their government, than they raised the standard of Mahomet against the Portuguese, who had possession there of some small settlements. At the same time that they shewed a

great zeal for mahometanism, which procured them a number of mussulman soldiers, they maintained their credit at court by subduing some ill-affected towns of their provinces, so that the king of Fez triumphed by their success, and applauded the choice he had made of the cherifs, whatever the suspicious Muley Nacer might say of them. His remonstrances had begun to produce some effect on the mind of the king, when Mahomet, after having rendered himself absolute in his government, built a magnificent palace in the capital of the province, and assumed the title of prince of Hoa. He then seized on Morocco, from which he expelled the prince of a petty tribe bordering on the territories of that city, and destroyed him by poison. Hamet united himself to his brother Mahomet. Their father Hassan was now dead; and their eldest brother Abdelquivir had been killed in an engagement. They were then known under the name of the two cherifs, and extolled among the mussulmen as the most strenuous supporters of their religion; but having attained to this degree of power, they openly renounced their dependence on the king of Fez.

Mahomet,  
1536.

This prince having died of grief, his son, who had been the pupil of Mahomet, imagined he could gain his preceptor by giving him to understand that for a small annual tribute he would confirm him in his dignity and power. Mahomet



sent back word to the king, that, being descended from the great prophet, it was neither just nor becoming his dignity to pay tribute to any one, "If you are desirous," added he, "to behave to me as a friend, I shall always entertain a grateful remembrance of the favours I received from your father and from you; but if you interrupt me in the war which I am now carrying on against the christians, you may expect punishment from god and his prophet."

After this answer, Mahomet assumed the title of king, which had been before given to his brother Hamet. The latter, displeased to see his younger brother usurp a dignity which he thought belonged exclusively to him, declared war against Mahomet; but he was defeated and taken prisoner, though afterwards released. The nobility then divided the provinces among them. Hamet could not remain satisfied: he took up arms once more; was again taken, and suffered no other punishment than that of being confined with his family in the town of Tafilet. Mahomet promised that if he would remain at peace he would restore him to his former condition. He afterwards declared war against the king of Fez; and, being always successful, put that prince also in irons.

The preceptor, still mindful of his ancient condition, made a pedantic remonstrance to his pupil. He reminded him of the lessons which

he had formerly given him ; and reproached him with inattention to them, and with having suffered crimes and abominations to be introduced into his capital, so celebrated by the manner in which religion and the sciences had flourished in it. “ If you now find yourself “ stripped of royalty,” added the holy man, “ as a punishment for this negligence, do not “ imagine that I am the author of your misfortune.. God himself has combatted with me “ against you. This is his work alone.” When he concluded, he deigned to assure him that he would soon be re-established in his states : and the prisoner, after a short compliment in return for this promise, replied : “ I can hardly allow “ myself to believe that you took up arms against “ me merely for the purpose of giving me “ this lesson. I will freely acknowledge that a “ great many abuses and irregularities, which a “ king can neither foresee nor prevent, may be “ introduced into a state ; but even supposing “ that those with which you tax me were of “ the most enormous kind, and that it was “ entirely owing to my negligence that they “ were not checked, had you any right to take “ upon you to punish my error ; you, whom my “ father, at my request, raised from the low “ condition of a schoolmaster to that high degree “ of power to which you have attained ? Does “ it become you, whom I myself have loaded

with benefits, to repay me with ingratitude, under the specious cloak of virtue and religion?" After a pause, occasioned as much by indignation as by the pain of his wounds, which he was prevented from paying attention to by Mahomet's zeal for the reformation of his pupil, he replied: "To avoid what might give you uneasiness, by unveiling to those who hear us your profound dissimulation, I shall only add, that Providence has delivered me into your hands to try what use you will make of your victory: and since you have undertaken to remind me here of my duty, let us see whether you can perform your own; and whether you are capable of perceiving how far the inconsistency of fortune may have rendered us necessary to each other."

A malignant smile appeared on the cherif's countenance. He however behaved to his prisoner with decent respect; but when they came to mention terms, this generous conqueror would not release him except on the hard condition that the king of Fez should deliver up to him his capital, at whatever period he might think proper to demand it. Under this demand he concealed views which were not long in being displayed. His brother Hamet, who was dissatisfied with the portion allotted to him, judged of the discontent of the king of Fez by his own, and proposed to him a league against their com-



mon enemy. Mahomet before the rupture, and even without knowing whether it would take place, presented himself before Fez, and summoned the king to surrender. The king refused, throwing the blame on the inhabitants, who he said were unwilling to change their master; but Mahomet having already gained over the greater part of them, they caused the gates to be opened. The king fled with precipitation into the fortrefs, without provisions; and was forced to surrender with no other favour than that of being allowed to live, as a private individual, in whatever place the conqueror should think proper to appoint. He sent notice to the unfortunate prince to retire with his family to Morocco, where he might always have him under his hand; and he banished his brother Hamet to the desert, that he might never more hear mention made of his name.

This prince, however, escaped from his melancholy abode, and still became the cause of uneasiness to his brother. He again fell into his hands; and Mahomet sent him with all his children to Morocco, which was his prison. But the king of Fez was no longer in that city, as the tyrant, on a very slight suspicion, had caused him to be put to death with his two sons. The cherif, in his old age, experienced misfortunes, which irritated his temper. He lost in war his favourite son, to whom he confided his most im-

portant concerns, and his arms were not attended with success. He became afraid of treachery and revolt, which rendered him gloomy and cruel. He was, however, not able to avoid his melancholy fate. While he was subduing the empire of Morocco, Barbarossa had seized on the kingdom of Algiers. These two warriors had a respect for each other. When Barbarossa died, his son Hassan having learned that Mahomet was making preparations against him, and being afraid that he should not be able to resist so formidable an enemy, dispatched an assassin, who killed him in the middle of his camp. As soon as the news of his death had reached Morocco, the governor, named Budcar, suspecting that Hamet, whom he had in his custody, might find means to excite a sedition, caused him to be massacred, with seven of his sons or grandsons. Thus the two brothers, who had so long disputed for the empire, both perished by violent deaths almost at the same time.

Mahomet was succeeded by his son Abdallah, <sup>Abdallah,</sup> under whom Budcar received the recompense of <sup>1557</sup> his officious cruelty. Two young princes, born by Lela Mariem, the sister of Abdallah, to Sidan the eldest son of Hamet, were involved in the massacre of Hamet's children. The princess their mother, filled with despair, resolved to be revenged on the murderer; and pursued her measures for that purpose with great policy. As

Budcar had been appointed grand-vizier, she endeavoured to inspire him with suspicions against his brother, who entertained for her a greater affection than a brother ought for a sister. She endeavoured, above all, to insinuate that the vizier, on his death, would endeavour to place upon the throne the emperor's brother, in prejudice to his son. As Abdallah refused to give credit to this information, Lela Mariem proposed to him a plan by which he might convince himself of the dispositions of the vizier.

She made the prince pretend to be ill, and would not suffer him to be seen. The vizier, being refused admittance, supposed that the prince was dead; and that his sister meant to conceal this circumstance from the public. The vizier, therefore, demanded admittance in an imperious tone, and Lela, as if forced to comply, acknowledged that her brother was dead, and introduced the vizier into an apartment where he saw the prince stretched out motionless, having his face covered with a veil. The princess then proposed to him to proclaim the son of the deceased king: but the vizier replied, that the prince was too young; that it would be necessary to have some one capable of governing the state, of punishing the crimes which Abdallah had tolerated, and of rewarding the good subjects whom he had neglected; that no person



was more qualified to fill the vacant throne than the king's brother; and that notwithstanding the obligations he was under to the deceased, he would be the first to oppose the succession of his son. He would have said a great deal more, had not Abdallah, becoming impatient, thrown aside his veil, and begun a speech filled with the severest reproaches, which Budcar did not hear to the end. He was thrown into so great consternation that he disguised himself in female attire, and quitting the city, sat down under an olive-tree to wait for horses, which he had ordered to follow him. Some huntsmen, who passed that way, taking him for a woman of pleasure, lifted up his veil, and recognized him. To find a grand-vizier in such a situation inspired them with suspicions; they accordingly seized him, and conducted him before the emperor, who being still in the heat of his passion, ordered him to be beheaded.

His son and successor, Muley Mahamet, was dethroned by his uncle Muley Moluch, who gained the famous battle in which Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, disappeared. When the battle began, the Moorish king was at the point of death in his litter; yet he gave his orders with great tranquillity: and having seen victory incline in his favour, expired before the battle was entirely decided. Muley Hamet, his brother, caused himself to be proclaimed amidst

Muley Mahamet, 1574.  
Muley Moluch and  
Muley Hamet I. 1575.  
Sidan, 1603.  
Muley Abdelmalech,  
1630. Muley Elwali,  
1634. Muley Hamet II.  
1646. Muley Cherif,  
1650.

his trophies ; and the whole course of his reign corresponded with the beginning : it was long and happy. That of his son Sidan was rendered turbulent by the rebellion of his brothers, and other relations, but he subdued them, and afterwards enjoyed several years' tranquillity. Muley Abdelmalech, the son of the latter, abandoned to debauchery, cruel, and detested by his subjects, was assassinated by a Tartar christian, whom he wished to make an eunuch ; and was succeeded by Muley Elwali, his brother. This prince was just on the point of losing his eyes by the orders of the barbarous Abdelmalech when he ascended the throne. He was of a mild, affable disposition ; and by his good conduct procured the esteem of his subjects. His brother and successor, Muley Hamet II. was, on the other hand, universally despised on account of his excessive passion for women, which detained him in a state of indolence in his seraglio. He, however, suffered for his inactivity, being surprized by the Alarbes, a tribe of the Arabs of the desert, by whom he was put to death. They substituted in his stead their own king, Crumel Hack ; but as he was not of the dynasty, he is not included among the legitimate successors. The latter retired to the kingdom of Tafilet, which was governed by one of them named Muley Cherif, who was defeated in a battle by Sidi Omar, the petty prince of Illech, and confined

to a close prison, where he lived a considerable time. That he might not be without company, Omar sent him a very ugly female negro, by whom he had two sons, Muley Archi, and Muley Ismael.

Of these children, Muley Archi, the eldest, Muley Archi. Muley Ismael, 1672. became king of Tafilet by the death of his father, who re-ascended the throne after being delivered from his captivity. During his reign, Muley Ismael, the younger brother, resided as a private individual at Mequinez, which was then only a castle, situated in the most agreeable and most fertile part of Barbary, where he employed himself in commerce and agriculture. His brother having lost his life by an accident, Ismael, from being a farmer and merchant, became instantly the most barbarous tyrant that ever possessed a throne. His first measure was to occupy his people in such a manner that they might not have time to think of the oppression under which they groaned. "When I confine rats in a basket," said he, "they break through and escape, unless I give them employment." He loaded them, therefore, with labour and taxes, and always kept their minds in suspense by new orders or cruel exactions. His avarice was equal to his ferocity; and he accumulated immense sums, without expending any thing for his family or his troops.

Having one day commanded his army to go



and besiege Morocco, which had been seized by one of his sons, the officers demanded the money due to them. "How, money!" replied Ismael in a passion. "Ye Moorish dogs," added he, "do you see the mules, camels, and other animals, of my empire ask any thing for their nourishment? They find it themselves, without importuning me; do you the same, and march with all speed." This was telling them, in plain terms, rob and plunder wherever you can; and indeed they did not fail to obey his instructions. The prince against whom they were dispatched was the eldest of his sons, named Muley Mahamet, who had been forced to revolt by the intrigues of a jealous step-mother, and the harsh usage of his father.

Muley had, as a rival in favour, his brother Sidan, the son of Laila Ajacha, a female negro whose soul was as black as her body. The son did not degenerate from his mother; and, to malice and treachery, added cruelty and debauchery, which rendered him detestable to all those who knew him. Muley, on the other hand, being endowed with the most amiable qualities, was universally esteemed. Whether owing to caprice, envy, or a desire of getting rid of both, Ismael sent to a distant town these two brothers, who were so little calculated for living together. Having quarrelled there, and come to blows, the father ordered them to be brought

before him; and not being able to reconcile them, he indulged in the singular pleasure of making them fight once more in his presence. They were deprived of their sabres, but supplied with cudgels. They fought with so much fury, that they were soon covered with blood; and the death of Sidan would have been the consequence had not their father ordered them to be separated. As Mahomet did not readily obey his command, Ismael laid hold of a stick, and beat him; but in a few moments he found his tenderness awakened, and, as a kind of reparation for the injury, conferred on him a government at his own choice.

This return of favour convinced Laila Ajacha that her stratagems had not yet been able to detach Ismael from his son; and that there was great reason to apprehend he might destine the crown for him. She, therefore, redoubled her perfidy, and made the prince commit a murder, which would have ruined him in the esteem of his father, had he not had proof ready at hand that he had been instigated to the crime by his mother-in-law, under the seal of her husband. Ismael, who was so cruel towards his wives that he caused them to be strangled by dozens in his seraglio, on the slightest suspicion, granted a free pardon to this negress. The prince, however, being always exposed to new acts of treachery, raised at length the standard of re-

volt; and the emperor sent against him his brother Sidan, who, partly by force and partly by stratagem, took him prisoner.

On this occasion the character of Ismael was fully displayed. He first ordered his unfortunate son to be brought to him at Morocco, but, inflamed with a desire of gratifying his vengeance, he went to meet him as far as Mequinez. He entered the town, preceded by forty christian slaves, bearing a large cauldron, a hundred weight of pitch, and the same quantity of tallow and oil. They were followed by six butchers with knives in their hands, and a waggon loaded with faggots. This horrid apparatus struck terror into the inhabitants of Mequinez, who had already beheld punishments invented by Ismael. Universal consternation prevailed; and Mahamet's daughter and her companions sent forth the most lamentable cries. Even the black sultans, dissembling her hatred, united with the rest to supplicate for a pardon; but the emperor replied coolly, that his son would suffer no other punishment than that of having a little boiling oil thrown over him.

The prince had preceded him one day, and reached a small village on the other side of Mequinez. The father remained without seeing him for a day; but being at length brought before the barbarian, he prostrated himself at his feet. The father, fixing his eyes on him with



a look of fury, placed the point of his lance on his breast, and remained silent. Soon after, as if repenting that he was about to subject him to a punishment too mild, he ordered him to ascend the cart which contained the boiling oil; and commanded one of the butchers to mount with him, to place his arm on the edge of the cauldron, and to chop it off. The unhappy wretch refused, and said he would rather die than shed the blood of the son of his prince. The king, irritated, struck off his head, and gave the same orders to another, who instantly obeyed, and cut off one of his feet also. "Ah! wretch," said the prince to his son with an insulting air, "dost thou now know thy father?" Having pronounced these words, he took up a musket, and dispatched the butcher who had cut off his son's hand and foot. His son had still strength to say: "What bravery! he kills him who executes his orders, as well as him who refuses." The arm and leg were then immersed in the oil, to stop the effusion of blood; and the same day the prince was conducted to Mequinez. He entered the city on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a box; but becoming frantic by this horrid treatment, he would not suffer his wounds to be dressed. He tore off the bandage; and a mortification taking place, he died on the thirteenth day.

It is impossible to express the doleful cries and

shouts with which the women made the seraglio resound, when they heard of this new kind of punishment inflicted on the unhappy cherif. To appease this agitation, the king was obliged to threaten with death all those who should send forth the smallest cry; and in order to shew that he spoke in earnest, he ordered four, who were unable to restrain their emotions, to be strangled. Mahamet's daughter was the only one allowed to indulge in tears and lamentation. After these examples, it is needless to say that Ismael was a monster of cruelty: but he was a pious and devout mussulman, and strict in performing all the duties of his religion; such as prayers, fasting, and ablutions. None of his barbarous actions can be ascribed to intoxication; for he never drank wine or strong liquors. He undertook no affair of importance without prostrating himself a long time on the earth, to request light and assistance from God. How contrasts are combined in certain characters!

Sidan, who had been the cause of the fatal catastrophe of Mahamet, became, in his turn, suspected by his father, who endeavoured to entice him to court. He employed the same negroes, his mother, who appears to have seriously exerted herself for that purpose; but their stratagems and efforts were useless. Sidan kept firm to his resolution: but as his violence and intoxication made him be hated even by his wives,

who lived in a state of continual alarm, dreading every moment to fall a sacrifice in succession to the fury of his passion, Ismael gained them over to his interest; and one day, while overpowered with wine, they strangled him in his bed. As a tyrant can never be free from suspicion, and particularly in old age, Ismael still conceived mistrust against his eldest son Abdelmelech, and endeavoured to prevail on him to reside near him; but as he did not succeed, he was so incensed that he named for his successor Muley Debi, who was two years younger. He died at a very advanced age. It may be said that he reigned by terror; and that it was always effectual. He seemed to sport with the lives of men, for he spared no one; and those accounted themselves happy who were not condemned to languish out their existence amidst the most cruel tortures. He was, however, considered as a great politician, and restored to the kingdom of Morocco that splendour which it had long lost.

The children of this prince disputed for the throne; and still more for the honour, if possible, of surpassing their father in cruelty. Muley Debi proceeded to such excess of debauchery, that the people cursed his father for having chosen to be his successor the most vicious of his sons. This general hatred gave many advantages to Abdelmelech, who had taken up arms against him. He, indeed, vanquished his brother, and having

Muley Debi,  
Abdelmelech, 1727.  
Abdallah,  
1730.



made him prisoner, wished to put out his eyes, but was prevented by the militia. They considered him as a resource necessary to be preserved, in case they should happen to be displeased with the new emperor, which was soon after the case. Abdelmelech, who had been considered as mild and patient under oppression, shewed himself cruel and dissolute when he acquired power. The body of the negroes, whose favour he was incapable of securing, restored the crown to Debi, who renewed his debaucheries, and died after ordering his brother to be strangled. He left a son, who at first was acknowledged as his successor; but one of Ismael's widows managed her intrigues so well with the blacks, that she caused Abdallah, whom she had born to the old emperor, to be placed on the throne.

This prince did not degenerate from the ferocity of his father. Like a monster, he took delight to wallow in blood. He was twice dethroned and restored. During these vicissitudes he was sometimes supported, and sometimes opposed, by the corps of negroes, who were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder. Having one day taken a prisoner, he ran him through with his lance, and called for a cup that he might drink his blood. His grand-vizier stopped him. "This action," said he, "is unworthy of your majesty; but what is not be-

“coming in a king may be proper in a subject.” He then took the cup and swallowed its contents. Were we even unacquainted with the character of this prince, some idea might be formed of it from such a minister. His mother, in the utmost distress, on account of his cruelties at the taking of Fez, almost all the inhabitants of which he caused to be inhumanly massacred, having ventured to make some remonstrances, he replied: “My subjects have no right to their lives, but what I give them. As for me, I have no greater pleasure than that of butchering them with my own hands.” He had, indeed, no other means of avoiding their fury than by undertaking a pilgrimage to Mecca. Since the time of Abdallah, the empire of Morocco, a continual subject of dispute to different competitors, has always been ultimately settled by the militia, who, however, always chose the sherifs from princes of the royal blood, which has caused religious fanaticism to be perpetuated on the throne together with cruelty.

## ALGIERS.

The soil and climate of Algiers are favourable to productions of every kind. The inhabitants are as mixed a breed as those in the kingdom of Morocco. It would appear, that the Moors who live here are more wretched than those in any

Algiers, between Tunis, Zaara, and the Mediterranean.

other country. Their douwars are exceedingly filthy; and their furniture is of the meanest kind. A hand-mill, a pot to boil their rice, a few pitchers, and some mats, form their whole riches. They all lodge together—fathers, mothers, children, horses and asses, cows and goats, dogs, chickens and cats—and often several families at the same time. They pay a certain tax to the dey of Algiers. The cheik is responsible for the whole village. They mix their bad bread with barley, and their principal articles of seasoning are oil and vinegar. From this specimen some idea may be formed of the rest of their food. The land is cultivated by the men; while the women and children are employed in tending their flocks. The dress of both sexes is a piece of coarse woollen cloth, which they wrap round the body in the best manner they can. The women, however, find means to arrange it in such a manner as to set off their beauties to the greatest advantage. They are brown, and of a lively and cheerful disposition. At the age of seven or eight, children receive a few rags to cover their nakedness. They marry at a very early period; and some of them are mothers at the age of nine or ten.

When a marriage has been settled, the intended husband carries to the tent of the bride's father the present of cattle destined for him. It is an established form that he must be asked



what his spouse costs him ; and that he should reply : “ A prudent and industrious wife is “ never purchased at a dear rate.” She is carried through the village in procession, amidst loud shouts of joy, on a horse belonging to her husband ; and when she arrives at his tent, the parents present to her a beverage composed of milk and honey. While she drinks, her companions dance and sing around her, and with the new-married couple every kind of happiness. She then fixes in the ground, to as great a depth as she can, a stick given to her by her companions, who address her in the following words : “ As this stick cannot leave its place “ unless taken from it, may you, in the like “ manner, never quit your husband unless he “ drive you from him.” From this custom it might be concluded that divorces are permitted in this country, but polygamy is not known. The young wife is then put in possession of the flock, which she conducts, or at least makes the appearance of conducting, to pasture ; the remainder of the day is spent in pleasure. The women never interfere with any thing but their domestic concerns ; public affairs are reserved exclusively for the men ; and they would despise their husbands if they did not observe silence respecting them. The object of them, in general, is to pursue measures for robbing some one who is passing through their territories. “ The

“country belongs to us,” say they; “it has been  
“usurped from us, and we are authorized to  
“seize every thing we can find, since our mas-  
“ters have the cruelty to leave us in the most  
“wretched indigence.”

The Algerines, their masters, could hardly have the effrontery to reproach them with their robbery, since they themselves, with even less appearance of justice, follow no other employment than that of exercising the same rapacity against all nations. They are the most dangerous, the boldest, and the cruelest of all the African pirates. Though they have retained the title of kingdom, the government in the hands of the militia is entirely republican. The grand-seignior formerly sent thither pachas, who had all the authority of a viceroy. Some of them, however, thought of nothing but filling their own coffers, impoverished the people by exorbitant taxes, and did not even pay the janissaries employed to keep the country in a state of dependence on Constantinople. Some of them were massacred by the people, who represented to the Porte, that the bad conduct of these pachas might be highly prejudicial to the sovereignty of the grand-seignior; that the militia were becoming weaker every day for want of pay; and that, if this disorder continued, the Arabs and the Moors would soon be in a condition to throw off the Ottoman yoke.

They proposed, therefore, to elect from among themselves a dey to take care of the revenues of the country, and employ them in paying the troops, who were to be kept always complete, and in providing for the wants of the state, which by these means would cease to be a burden to the Ottoman court. They engaged, in consequence of this arrangement, always to acknowledge the grand-seignior as their sovereign. The Porte approved this plan, and since that time the militia have acquired unlimited power, by the right they possess of electing the dey from their own body. They established a council or divan, which consisted at first of eight hundred officers, without whose advice the dey could form no decisions; and, on important occasions, he was even obliged to assemble the whole body, who amounted sometimes to the number of fifteen thousand. In proportion as the deys, who are like the stadtholders in Holland, became more powerful, they reduced the divan to thirty *yah pachas*. They invite thither also, according to their pleasure, the muphti and the cadi; but every thing, in general, is settled by the favourites of the dey, before the divan assembles; yet all the orders issued from it are said to be in the name of the grand and petty members of the powerful and invincible militia of Algiers and of the whole kingdom.

All those who compose this militia, without



excepting the meanest soldier, have the right of aspiring to the dignity of dey ; so that a bold and enterprizing soldier may be considered as presumptive heir to the sovereignty. He has even this advantage, that there is no necessity for the place becoming vacant by the natural death of the person who holds it. He has nothing to do but to put the reigning prince to death ; and, if possessed of courage and address, the same scimeter which he dared to stain with the blood of his master, may serve to procure him the throne. It is, therefore, a kind of prodigy to see a dey close his existence with that dignity. They are almost all assassinated, obliged to abdicate, or to fly. The election, which is determined by a plurality of voices, seldom passes without some massacre. As soon as the grand-seignior is informed of it, he sends the new dey a patent as viceroy ; but when it arrives it is sometimes useless, as the person for whom it was intended is no longer in existence.

The most powerful officer, next to the dey, is the aga of the militia. At first this office was held by the oldest soldier, but afterwards it was transferred to the chiau pacha. He keeps the keys of the gates, and possesses great authority. Next to him is the secretary of state, who is as it were the prime minister ; and then the counsellors, to the number of thirty : of this body the divan is composed. They all sit when they

assemble; but the inferior members, invited thither, such as old soldiers, officers, veterans, and others, are obliged to stand with their arms across, and as motionless as possible. No one is allowed to enter the divan with any kind of weapon. The dey or the aga presides and proposes the subject of deliberation, which is repeated by four officers; each member of the divan then repeats it to his neighbour, with singular gestures and contortions; and when the proposal displeases him, with a frightful noise; so that, without putting the question to the vote, the president can foresee what will be the result. As all those who compose the divan are soldiers of fortune, men of low birth, brutal and ignorant, these deliberations are attended with great tumult. The new dey generally takes proper precautions to ensure a preponderance in the assembly, by causing such members of it as opposed his election, or consented to it with a bad grace, to be strangled.

All the acts of the divan are written in the Turkish language; that of the natives is a mixture of Arabic, Moorish, and the ancient language, supposed to be the Phœnician. That used in commerce is the *Lingua Franca*, a jargon composed of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French, which is employed throughout all the Levant. Every Algerine corsair forms a small and distinct republic, of which the *raïs*, or

captain, is the pacha ; with his officers he composes a kind of divan, which regulates every thing that concerns the vessel. The religion of the Algerines is very little different from that of the Turks, except that the former are much more superstitious, but very much relaxed in their practice. The head of it is the high-priest, or *muphti* ; and all causes, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are judged by the *cadi*. The grand *marabou*, or chief of the morabites, a kind of hermit, without jurisdiction, possesses great influence in the state. These three men have seats in the divan, on the right of the dey ; and they all make a great merit of fasting and ablutions, which they consider as the most effectual means for effacing sins.

The following things they hold in great detestation : to carry the Koran below their girdle ; to let a drop of urine fall on their clothes ; to use a pen for writing instead of a pencil ; to have printed books or any representations whatever of men and animals ; to make use of bells ; to suffer christians, and above all, women, to enter their mosques ; to exchange a Turk for a christian ; to touch money, to engage in any occupation, and even to dress a wound, before they repeat their morning prayers ; and to strike the earth with their foot when playing at tennis, because perhaps it is a sign of impatience ; to eat snails, because they consider them as sa-



ered;—they have perhaps clothed them with this character because they are bad and unwholesome food; to chastise their children anywhere except on the soles of the feet; and to shut their bed-chamber in the night. All this is ridiculous, as well as their considering fools, idiots, and lunatics as saints; but the most horrid feature in their character is, that they extol unnatural love as a virtue, and are, in general, addicted to it.

Both men and women wear long dresses, which have a resemblance to each other. The latter use veils so transparent that they can see through them and enjoy some liberty. The slaves are distinguished by a cap. The dey alone and the principal officers of the divan have the privilege of riding through the town on horseback. The legal revenues of the dey are not very considerable; but they are raised to a great amount by extortion, fines, and plunder. Justice is speedy, and exceedingly severe, except to the Turks, who are all soldiers, and whose favour it is necessary to retain. The punishments are horrid. That of throwing criminals on iron hooks placed at the bottom of the walls of the town, on which they remain a long time alive, has, it is said, been abolished. A woman never goes to demand justice alone: she assembles those of the neighbourhood, and they all proceed to lay their complaint before the divan, which is

obliged to hear them. Each nation have magistrates of their own, and in regard to their private affairs are judged by their own laws. There are none left without resource and protection but the unhappy slaves, who are continually exposed to the rod or sabre of their merciless masters. Such of the female sex as are rich lead a life of great indolence, as is the case in other countries. They are required to be chaste, and at marriage must publicly produce proofs that they are virgins. The sick are attended by persons of their own sex. It is not difficult here to become a physician, as nothing is necessary but to be acquainted with a few simples and recipes. He who possesses secrets, such as charms or sorcery, will soon make a fortune. Their mourning is very slight. Nothing can be so insolent as the militia. The meanest Turkish soldier thinks himself superior to the richest and most distinguished of other nations. Care is always taken to make way for him, otherwise he will make way for himself. These Turks, so haughty, are however the most avaricious beings in the world; and will be guilty of the most abject meanness to obtain money. Hence the proverb common at Algiers: "Give money to a Turk with one hand, and he will permit you to pluck out his eyes with the other."

The Algerine states are divided into three governments; the east, west, and south. The

first is the most considerable, on account of its riches. It contains a great number of ancient towns, where still may be seen the remains of monuments which attest their former celebrity, without reckoning those that exhibit nothing but ruins. Among the latter may be reckoned Hippo, where Bonna now stands, which disputes with Constantine the title of capital. This government borders on the desert. The inhabitants, in general, are haughty and warlike. The western also disputes with the eastern the melancholy honour of being covered with superb ruins. Its capital, for a long time, was Oran, which the Spaniards took, lost, and retook, and of which they are still masters. In the southern government there are no towns, as the Arabs by whom it is inhabited all live under tents. They are subjects on whom little dependance can be placed. If the dey harasses them for the small tribute which they ought to pay, they bury their corn and most valuable effects in places known only to themselves, and fly to the deserts or inaccessible retreats, where they are safe from all pursuit.

Algiers, the capital of the whole kingdom, which forms a sort of an amphitheatre, presents a most beautiful view to those who approach it by sea. The houses are white and ornamented with terraces, peristyles, and colonades, which rise above each other; but on entering it the



streets are found narrow, dirty, and crooked, and always obstructed by a multitude of people and beasts of burthen. The inhabitants pay visits to each other on their terraces; by means of which they can go from one end of the town to the other, because there are ladders to ascend or descend when the houses are not of the same height. Notwithstanding this facility of passing from one house to another, there are no thieves; for if a stranger is caught in any of them he is punished with death. The country around Algiers is delightful, being interspersed with beautiful villas, which are the more necessary as in the town there are neither squares nor gardens. Warm baths are found in the neighbourhood; and this convenience is not uncommon in this part of Africa, which may be considered as placed over volcanoes, since earthquakes are here very common.

We have already seen that the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Arabs, were successively masters of all this coast. The tribes of the lastmentioned people divided themselves in the country and formed different petty states, among which there were sometimes independent cities. Of this kind was that of Algiers, which though very inconsiderable at first, became afterwards a place of note by the asylum it afforded to the Moors expelled from Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella. These exiles, rendered de-

sperate by their expulsion, issued from this retreat like ferocious beasts, and endeavoured to repair the losses they had sustained by piracy at sea and plundering incursions on shore. The Spaniards, to check their ravages, made an irruption into Africa in the beginning of the sixteenth century; took Oran, and laid siege to Algiers, which was the principal haunt of these pirates. The Algerines invited to their assistance Selim Eutemy, an Arab chief in the neighbourhood; but notwithstanding his efforts the Spaniards effected a landing close to the town. They were obliged, therefore, to submit to a tribute; and to allow the Spaniards to erect a fortress in an island opposite to the city, which they supplied with a garrison and a numerous train of artillery.

Impatient under this yoke, the Algerines concerted with their ally Eutemy, and with his consent called in, to deliver them, the famous corsair Barbarossa, who as is said had rendered himself formidable at sea from the age of thirteen. He arrived with his brother Hairadin, highly gratified by the invitation, as it offered him a fixed residence, with a good port to which he could carry his prizes, being then destitute of both; but he did not communicate his real design to the Algerines. He appeared in the quality of an auxiliary and ally. All the inhabitants of the city went out to meet him with prince Eutemy at their head. He was received

with every mark of distinction, and all ranks were anxious to provide accommodations for his troops in the city. He himself received an affectionate invitation from an Arab to lodge in the palace which he occupied. Barbarossa took advantage of this reception to procure the necessary information and to concert measures for his enterprize. He communicated his plan to his chief officers, whom he found disposed to second him, and agreed to conduct himself the principal part of the execution. Eutemy being accustomed to repair to the bath every day at noon, before prayers, Barbarossa surprized him there alone naked and destitute of arms, and strangled him with a napkin. The latter immediately quitted the bath, and then returned, with some attendants, as if for the purpose of bathing. The surprize he affected on seeing the prince dead did not impose upon every one of the spectators; but his soldiers had already made themselves so formidable that no person durst express the least suspicion. Some abandoned the city, and others shut themselves up in their houses. Barbarossa, amidst the general consternation, planted guards in convenient places; took possession of the principal posts, and by one crime found himself in a moment master of the city.

He reigned there by terror; often exposed to conspiracies which he detected with address, and



which he punished with cruelty ; but, at the same time, he raised his kingdom to a state of splendour it never had before known, and caused himself to be acknowledged by foreign as well as by neighbouring nations. His troops were composed chiefly of Turks ; and it was chiefly under the banners of the crescent that he had distinguished himself in his maritime exploits. He kept up an intimate connexion with the Porte, but preserved his independence. He procured from it recruits, and sent thither presents. He was killed in a battle with the Spaniards, after having subdued the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Algiers, and given to that kingdom almost the whole extent and power it has at present.

He was succeeded by Hairadin ; but this prince, as he either possessed less talents than his brother or found the revolts excited against him more dangerous, after having attempted for two years to maintain himself alone, thought it prudent to interest the Porte to support his authority. With that view he offered to resign the sovereignty, and to content himself with being acknowledged pacha or viceroy of the sultan. On this condition Selim sent him a powerful reinforcement of janissaries ; and thus Algiers fell under the dominion of the Turks : but we have seen that the authority of the Ottoman

court declined there in the course of time. It was first reduced to a little influence in regard to the nomination of the dey ; and then merely to the honour of giving him a patent, which it could not refuse. It always kept there a pacha as the successor of Barbarossa and his descendants; but at length the office of pacha disappeared, being totally eclipsed by that of dey. At present Algiers is a power absolutely sovereign and independent, as it is rather in alliance with than subject to the Turks, and keeps up with them a connexion only of decency and respect, founded on an identity of religion.

The events which have taken place in Algiers, since its foundation by the two Barbarossas, are nothing else than jealousies and intrigues among the chief men to supplant each other; acts of cruelty, depositions, and other catastrophes of the like kind. Were we to delineate a picture of them, it would exhibit an uninterrupted series of the most horrid acts of tyranny: assassinations among the great, wretchedness and oppression among the poor, with instances of the most inhuman vengeance against the relations and partisans of the different princes massacred; and of confiscations, imprisonment, and persecution, so that at the end of a month, and even a week, the reigning prince has met with the same fate, and a new revolution has brought back the

same scenes of madness and cruelty. These, added to piratical expeditions at sea, would form the principal part of the history of each reign.

In regard to these expeditions, all the nations of the world may rest assured that they will never cease as long as this nest of pirates is suffered to exist. Such acts of violence are natural to them.

"The Algerines," said one of their deys with some humour, "are robbers; and I am their captain-general." Those, therefore, who navigate the neighbouring seas, must expect to be exposed to their attacks. When reproached with this shameful piracy, they reply by the following proverb: "Those who are afraid of the sparrows ought never to sow." No nation in Europe has found means to humble them but the French, by the famous bombardment in 1682; on which occasion the public buildings, and almost all the houses, were converted into a heap of ruins. They begged for peace, and promised to respect the French flag and coasts. They have almost kept their word; like a savage mischievous animal, which having been once chastised, abstains from doing hurt if looked at.

#### TUNIS.

Tunis resembles Algiers, as it exhibits the same religion, the same government, the same manners, and the same events, which transferred it from the hands of the Arabs into those of

Tunis, between Algiers, Tripoli, and the Mediterranean.



the Turks; weakened the authority of the latter, and at last brought it to such a state as to be able to name its own masters, under the title of *beys*, but without entirely rejecting the influence of the Turks. Deys were appointed here by the grand-seignior till the commencement of the present century; but they were very different from those of Algiers, being representatives without power. The beys, by the assistance of a militia, composed of Moors, Arabs, and, above all, renegadoes, have made themselves independent. The Porte has given over sending deys to Algiers. The beys, like the deys, have a divan, which they manage as they please, and are no longer subject to the commands of the grand-seignior.

Though we have said that the Tunifians resemble the Algerines, they exhibit some traits in their character which give them a superiority to the latter. They are more civil to strangers, more honest, and less haughty. They are addicted to piracy, but more to commerce. The people are fonder of being artisans than soldiers. The militia at Tunis dare not carry their insolence so far as at Algiers. They are less severe to the christian slaves; yet they once beat with great cruelty a knight of Malta whom they had taken. The grand-master subjected to a like treatment the Tunifians whom he had in his power; and by means of this reciprocal politeness, they at-

tained to a good understanding from which they ought never to have departed.

The kingdom or republic of Tunis is divided into two parts, called that of winter and that of summer, which the bey visits every year, in order to collect the taxes. Were he sensible to the changes effected by the destructive hand of time, and that of barbarians, he would with pain behold the marks imprinted by them on the superb monuments which once decorated the cities of this unfortunate country. The site of the celebrated Carthage can be distinguished only by a small part of a wall, and the ruins of an aqueduct. The remains of amphitheatres, triumphal arches, pavements of mosaic work, altars, and columns, with the limbs and mutilated trunks of statues, occur in various places; and there are few cantons which do not attest that this part of Africa was formerly the seat of the arts, and that they are now entirely banished from it. In regard to nature, being always invariable, she precipitates the rivers from the summits of the same rocks, continues to make thermal waters boil up from the bowels of the earth, and shakes it as formerly beneath the feet of the frightened inhabitants. But, being equally constant in her favours, she covers the fields with abundant crops, separates the mountains to afford a passage to the cooling zephyrs, and covers the hills with verdure. In many parts the country is a

kind of terrestrial paradise ; but this is not the case in the neighbourhood of Tunis. The soil is ungrateful and sandy ; and nothing is produced but by means of water, which must be drawn from deep wells. It does not afford the gardener the pleasure of quenching his thirst, because it is saline or brackish ; but commerce supplies every necessary, and the people live in comfort.

Tunis, like Algiers, fell a prey to another Barbarossa, who introduced himself, in the like manner, by a perfidious stratagem. Hassan, descended from the Arabian kings who reigned in that city, having put to death when he ascended the throne several of his brothers, one of them, named Arashid, made his escape, and formed a party. As his followers, however, were not sufficiently powerful to enable him to overturn Hassan, he solicited the aid of Barbarossa. The latter conducted him to Constantinople, under a pretence of procuring assistance for him from the Porte ; but the traitor insinuated to the divan, that if the troops destined for the prince, whom he affected to befriend, were put under his management, as soon as he should make himself master of Tunis, he would render homage to the sultan, and hold the reins of government there as his representative. These conditions being accepted, he departed with a strong armament, giving out that Arashid was



on board the fleet, though detained at Constantinople. The Tunifians, displeased with Hassan, were anxiously longing for a change; and believing that his brother was in the fleet, they opened their gates to Barbarossa. They were much surprized to see him alone; but the fault was committed, and they were obliged to submit.

Their credulity was so much the more prejudicial to their interest, as the residence of Barbarossa in their city brought against them the forces of Charles V. who every-where pursued that pirate. Notwithstanding the usurper's efforts, the emperor took Tunis, and re-established Hassan. This prince, however, was no longer able to secure the affection of his subjects. They supported his son Hamida, who had revolted against him, a monster of lasciviousness and cruelty. Being master of Tunis, like another Absalom, he publicly dishonoured the most favourite wives of his father. When he got the latter into his possession, he would not deign to see him, though the old man requested it; but sent executioners to him, and desired to know whether he would choose death or suffer to have his eyes put out. He preferred the latter, and was accordingly deprived of sight, by thrusting into his eyes a red-hot lancet.

To efface from the mind the melancholy impression which this horrid act may occasion, I

shall call its attention to the instructive lesson given by a Mahomet bey of Tunis to an Ibrahim dey of Algiers. — Mahomet was accounted exceedingly rich; he was celebrated also for his knowledge of chemistry, and for having discovered the philosopher's stone. This pretended knowledge did not prevent him from being disagreeable to his subjects, who dethroned him. On this occasion he had recourse to Ibrahim to restore him; and the latter agreed, on condition that he would communicate to him his secret. When the Tunisian was re-instated in his kingdom, the Algerine called upon him to fulfil his engagement: Mahomet, in consequence of his promise, sent to him spades, hoes, and other implements of agriculture, the instruments of that real magic which produces solid riches, and converts every thing into gold.

#### TRIPOLI.

Tripoli, between Bill-dulguerid, Mount Atlas, Egypt, and the Mediterranean.

The kingdom of Tripoli, tributary to the grand-seignior, is divided into two parts, the maritime and the interior. The inhabitants of the one part have nothing with which they can reproach the other; for the former live by piracy, and the latter by robbery. They, however, carry on some trade, which is indeed of no great extent; but, with the assistance of hunting, it is sufficient to supply provisions to the city. The articles in which it is most deficient

are bread and water. The soil, which is exceedingly dry, produces nothing but date-trees; and the water of the wells is brackish. All the towns on the coast of Tripoli have become villages; those close to the sea are inhabited by fishermen, and those in the interior by poor gardeners or farmers, who are too ignorant to be proud of the superb ruins by which they are still surrounded. Very fortunately they believe, that if they touched them they would experience some great misfortune. This superstition has been the means of preserving these beautiful ruins.

The Porte sends to Tripoli a pacha, who has nothing to do but to amass riches. Provided the bey fills his purse, and pays the tribute, the latter may do whatever he pleases. These leeches ruin the country, which is now in a most deplorable condition. Tripoli, after the time of the Vandals, was subject to kings, natives of the country; but it afterwards fell into the hands of the Arabs, who came from Egypt, and who carried away a great number of slaves, both from the kingdom and the capital. The sceptre was then assumed by pirates, or adventurers, from whom it was wrested by the Spaniards; and the latter resigned it to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, when they had lost Rhodes. Salha Rais, Sinan Daffat, and Dragut, three famous corsairs, made themselves masters of it, with the



assistance of troops furnished to them by the grand-seignior. The last remained there as governor, and established the authority of the Turks; but their yoke became so burthenfome that there were several revolts, which gave rise to the mixed government that still exists in appearance; for it is really absolute and despotic. The bey, chosen by the militia, seems to be the chief of a body of republicans; but he commands only slaves, and never has recourse to the divan except on difficult conjunctures.

Such was the case with Tripoli when the depredations committed by its pirates brought against it the arms of Louis XIV in 1685. On that occasion, a dreadful bombardment, conducted by the marshal d'Etrees, compelled the Tripolines to sue for peace, in the most submissive manner. The divan or senate of Tripoli offered the proposals, signed the treaty, and sent ambassadors to France. As they came thither as suppliants they expected to experience some marks of displeasure, on the part of an incensed conqueror; but they were agreeably surprized by the polite reception which they every-where met with. Of the many things which excited their admiration, nothing struck them so much as the opera. The music, the actors and actresses, the decorations, machines, and dresses, appeared to them a series of enchantments—an assemblage of irresistible charms. The chief of the embassy,

an old corsair, was so much affected by the sight that he exclaimed: "Whatever enemy might attack us we should be able to defend ourselves, unless it were the opera, and in that case we should lay down our arms."

At the extremity of the coast lies the desert of Barca. It consists of loose sand, which being raised into clouds by the wind, often buries the traveller; while, at other times, the eyes are scorched by the reverberation of the sun's rays. It has no water but of a bad quality, found in a few wells, which are exceedingly rare. Travellers who cross it are obliged to conduct themselves by means of a compass; and though there is something awful in solitude it is most advantageous for them to see nobody, as the Arabs who frequent it are only banditti, the boldest and most ferocious in the world. They are meagre, miserable figures, covered with the clothes they have plundered, and which they wear till they become rags on their bodies and rot. These hordes are frightful by their aspect; but they are much more so when we reflect that those who fall into their hands are tormented, in order to discover whether they have not swallowed gold to conceal it; killed if they have not a sufficiency of provisions to nourish them; or carried away into eternal captivity, where slaves are supposed to be treated with favour.

when they are suffered to participate in their famine, thirst, and nakedness.

#### MALTA.

The island of Malta was inhabited formerly by the nymph Calypso. Though nearer to Sicily, from which it is only fifteen leagues distant, it is assigned, without any just reason, to Africa, its distance from which is fifty. It is about twenty leagues in circumference. The soil is barren, being composed partly of sand and partly of rock, covered with very little earth, full of stones, and unfit for the cultivation of any kind of grain. It produces figs, melons, oranges, and honey. To the north-west, separated from it by a channel a league and a half in breadth, lies the island of Goza, which is about eight leagues in circumference; and in this channel are the small isles of Comin and Comino. The former is a league in circumference; the other is less. Lampedosa, five or six leagues in circumference, lying at the distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues from Malta, is barren and uninhabited.

The southern coast of Malta has neither road nor harbour. Some good harbours, however, are found to the east; and there is an excellent port divided into two parts, commanded by fort St. Elmo. When it was taken possession of by



the knights it contained only one city, with a few towns, and about twelve thousand inhabitants. At present it has four cities inclosed by walls. The hamlets have become villages; and the villages large towns. The air is exceedingly salubrious, being always cooled by the sea-breezes. There are no rivers in the island; but it has excellent springs: water is collected also in cisterns. Every creek and corner where an enemy might enter is strongly fortified and guarded. The cities, which are built with taste and elegance, are well defended also. They contain beautiful churches, large and commodious hospitals, arsenals supplied with all kinds of stores; in a word, every thing necessary either in time of peace or of war.

The character given of the Maltese ladies implies, to speak in the softest terms, that they are fond of gallantry. I do not mean to say that they are amorous, but that they are tempting. Their husbands are not much pleased with this conduct; which indeed is very little directed towards them. They are jealous: but before marriage they carry about their intended spouses with confidence to the most public places, and affect to allow them a great deal of liberty. When married, however, they are narrowly watched, and those who approach them, even if they are knights, have to dread the dagger or poniard. The Maltese are robust, healthful, lively, brave, and warlike. A signal given by

firing three cannons is sufficient to call forth twenty-five thousand men, all well armed, and to place each at his post, with which they are thoroughly acquainted. They are said to be of Arabic extraction, and they speak that language; but in the towns the most common dialect is the Italian. The Maltese subsist by the culture of a few productions, and by commerce; but what contributes most to the flourishing state of their island is the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, called commonly the knights of Malta.

Were a mahometan to write the history of the order of Malta, he would say, that in an island of the Mediterranean there is an association of men sworn enemies of the mussulman religion, who wage eternal war with those who profess it, attack their ships, ravage their coasts, carry them away as slaves; and, through zeal for christianity, engage to make no peace, nor enter into any truce with them. After such a picture, people might be induced to blame this ardent zeal, and to task it with the name of overstrained enthusiasm: but they will be cautious in condemning this institution when they know how it is formed; what is the end proposed by it; and how it has been led by circumstances to support itself in a state of war, which is its essential occupation. To defend itself it is sometimes obliged to attack.

The christians, full of respect for the places where the mysteries of their religion were first operated, have at all times considered it as a pious duty to visit them. These places, which they call holy, and Jerusalem the capital, having fallen into the hands of the Saracens, the pilgrims of Europe were exposed by them to various acts of oppression, which rendered the journey dangerous and laborious. Some Italian merchants, said to be gentlemen of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, taking advantage, about the year 1048, of the access given them by commerce to the court of the sultan of Egypt, obtained permission to build, near the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, an hospital where pilgrims might be received and refresh themselves after their fatigue. They constructed there also a chapel, under the name of St. John the almoner. This establishment was supported by the alms which they collected in Italy and in other countries; and they soon found themselves in a condition to build a second hospital for women: from this small beginning arose the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which since that time has been the bulwark of christianity.

The Latin christians were received in this hospital without distinction of rank or nation. A certain place in it was assigned for the pilgrims, and clothing was provided for those who



had been stripped by the banditti. Great care was taken of the sick, and every sort of misery found in the charity of those who presided over the hospital a new kind of pity. The men were governed by a French Provincial named Gerard, and the women by a Roman lady named Agnes, who had the consolation of seeing their charity rewarded by liberal donations, and revenues which supplied them with the means of increasing and extending their benefactions. The number of the hospitalers, both male and female, having considerably increased, Gerard and Agnes proposed to the brothers and sisters to renounce the world, and assume the religious habit. Simple regulations, all tending to the benefit of the poor and the pilgrims received in the hospital, were drawn up for them, and confirmed by the pope.

1113.

Gerard was succeeded by Raymond, of an illustrious house in Dauphiny, whose zeal did not confine itself to the cares which had occupied his predecessor: he beheld with grief the dismal state of the christians of Palestine, and the dangers and misery to which they were exposed. The pilgrims ran the greatest risk from the banditti who infested the highways, and it too often happened that they arrived at the hospital after being robbed and ill-treated. Raymond, finding himself at the head of a great number of hospitalers, resolved to render them

useful to religion, not only by the duties of hospitality, but by taking up arms to clear the highways of robbers, and marching against the infidels whenever called upon for that purpose by their superiors, without, however, suffering them, on account of these new functions, to dispense with their religious vows and other duties.

This project was adopted with the more zeal, as there were among these hospitalers a great many warriors who had served in the first crusade. After the war, having been reduced by their devotion to a sedentary life, they more readily quitted it when they saw that they might make the tumult of their ancient occupations accord with their pacific duties. They resumed, therefore, their arms, but they agreed to employ them only against the infidels. Raymond divided them into three classes: in the first he placed those who by their birth and the rank which they had formerly held in the armies, were more proper than the rest for warlike operations. He formed a second class of the priests and chaplains, who, besides their usual functions in church and attending the sick, were obliged, each in his turn, to serve as chaplains in the time of war. The third class was composed of those who were neither ecclesiastics nor of noble families; they were called *serving brothers*. They were to be employed in

such occupations as the knights should think proper to assign to them, either with the sick or the armies.

Raymond settled the dress and the badges by which the different classes were to be distinguished. He regulated also the order and discipline in regard to elections, admission to the noviciate, reception, profession, and taking the vows; the form of which was as follows: "I  
 "vow and promise to the almighty God, the  
 "most blessed virgin Mary, and St. John the  
 "Baptist, to pay true and sincere obedience to  
 "the superior who shall be established over me,  
 "and who shall be legally elected by your religion;  
 "to renounce all property, and to observe  
 "perpetual chastity." The person who officiated then said: "We receive you and acknowledge you as a servant of the poor and the sick, and as consecrated for the defense of the catholic religion." The new knight replied: "I acknowledge myself as such." In this ceremony the frock was joined to the sword. The order, under Raymond, was already sufficiently numerous to be divided into eight nations, called tongues, in which little variation has been made since the first distribution. One of the grand offices of the order was annexed to each tongue, and Raymond was the first grand-master. The use which these religious warriors made of their riches excited the liberality



of sovereigns, who gave them funds in their kingdoms; and of great lords and pious persons, who bequeathed legacies to them in every part of Europe. All the revenues were to be conveyed to the hospital of St. John. The use of them, as at first regulated by the grand-master and the chapter, was to support the hospitals, the knights, chaplains, serving brothers, the pilgrims who came to visit the holy places, the sick, the wounded, and the lame; in a word, all the expenses of the hospital, the brothers, and the church. In the next place, to procure arms, to pay the troops whom they engaged in their service, and to purchase ammunition and every thing necessary for the war, for guarding the highways, escorting pilgrims, and performing all the other services of religion.

To manage their property, it was necessary to dispatch to different countries officers chosen from the body. The knights to whom this care was consigned were called commanders, from the title of their commission *commendamus*—we recommend to you. This title was not for life, but during the pleasure of the chapter, or as long as they behaved properly. The commanders were under the inspection of the priors, who visited the commanderies, and were responsible for the application of the money received, on which account the contributions sent to the chief place were called *responsions*. The

## UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

baillis were subaltern commanders, as the managers of the commanders, to whom the commanderies were let for a certain annual sum: sometimes they became farmers of the revenues. The grand-baillis are not comprehended in this class; these were superior to the commanders themselves. Time has brought about many changes in these fiscal dignities, which have become exceedingly lucrative.

The history of Malta is replete with heroic feats, performed by individuals as well as by generals. They ought to be read by young people; that bravery which has become too methodical may no longer be confined to common rules. In regard to internal affairs, rivalships, jealousy respecting the government, stratagems to supplant each other, notwithstanding the military candour on which the knights pique themselves, they are merely monachal intrigues unworthy of notice, except so far as they have produced some remarkable event, or had an influence on the constitution of the order.

Gilbert Afflis, an Englishman, the fourth grand-master, employed the arms of the order in favour of the king of England in a war which was not a holy war, and was obliged to resign his office. The first possession of the order was the castle of Margat, on the confines of Palestine, to which they retired after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, and which they made

the principal place of their residence till the year 1192. They acquired one more secure in the town of Acre, the capture of which, in a great measure, was owing to them. It thus got the name of the knights, and was called St. John of Acre. Alphonso of Portugal, the eleventh grand-master, was desirous of repressing the luxury, and reforming the irregularities, introduced into the order, but did not succeed. He abdicated in 1207, and was nevertheless poisoned. The order then became a prey to anarchy and confusion: the hospitallers and templars, another military order, of which I shall speak hereafter, quarrelled and fought; but the necessity of opposing the Saracens obliged them to unite, and restored proper discipline among the former. Wealth then flowed in to the order from different princes who were pleased with their services in Palestine, and honourable privileges from the popes. The sixteenth grand-master extended its domains in Palestine, and fortified several castles, which became places of support and protection to the christians in that country. The Saracens never took any of them but by passing over the bleeding bodies of the knights, who preferred death to capitulation.

After the taking of Acre by the infidels at the end of the twelfth century, John de Villiers, a native of France, the twenty-first grand-



master, sought shelter with his order in the island of Cyprus. The knights were offered an asylum in Italy, and in other countries, but they would not abandon the Holy Land, which they always hoped they should be able to recover. In expectation of this event, they built ships to convey those who went to visit the holy places, and they returned with considerable prizes taken from the infidel corsairs, which were cruising to carry off the pilgrims. This was the commencement of their naval enterprises, which at that time were the principal resource of the knights; because several princes, considering them as of no use, after they had lost the Holy Land, stopped the revenues which they had received from their kingdoms. The knights, therefore, murmured when their grand-masters did not shew sufficient ardour for this kind of war, which was extremely lucrative.

In 1308, Foulquier de Villaret, a Frenchman, the twenty-fourth grand-master, on account of the general esteem in which he was held, obtained great assistance from the christian princes; carried his order from the island of Cyprus, the king of which kept it in subjection; and established it in the island of Rhodes, which he conquered. The knights then assumed the title of the knights of Rhodes; and the petty isles around it formed, as it were, a kingdom, rendered more powerful by the remains of the riches of the

templars, a part of which Villaret had the address to appropriate to the order. He lived, however, too much like a sovereign; and as he gave himself airs of absolute authority, the order deposed him. He was restored by the pope: but after having enjoyed the honour of recovering his former dignity, he voluntarily resigned, and died in the bosom of peace in his own country. Under his successor Villeneuve a regulation was made, by which it was declared that those should be incapable of every dignity who had not resided a certain number of years in Rhodes, and who during that residence had not served in war or on board the ships of the order.

The adventure of the chevalier Gozon, who killed a frightful serpent, which occasioned horrid ravages in the island, took place under the mastership of Villeneuve. Several knights had lost their lives in attacking this monster; and on that account a prohibition was issued that no more should expose themselves to its fury. Gozon, a Provincial knight, resolved however to attempt its destruction. After examining the dragon at a distance, he caused a figure having a perfect resemblance to it to be made; accustomed two young dogs to throw themselves on the fictitious monster, without being frightened, and to seize it under the belly, where it had no scales, while, in complete armour, he attacked it himself. Gozon overcame the ser-

pent, but not without great danger, notwithstanding all his precautions, and at last killed it. The grand-master, a faithful observer of discipline, deprived him of the habit of the order for his disobedience; but he again restored it to him with honour, and made him his lieutenant-general. Gozon even got himself elected grand-master by a piece of boldness which, perhaps, never succeeded with any other person.

The chapter were much embarrassed in regard to the election, as the old members wished for a grave religious man, and the young ones a warrior who might lead them to gain and to glory. When it came to Gozon's turn to give his vote, he addressed the chapter as follows: "On entering this assembly I solemnly swore that I would propose none of the knights but such as I thought most worthy of this important office. After having considered the present state of christianity, the wars which we are continually obliged to maintain against the infidels, and the firmness and vigour necessary to prevent a relaxation of discipline, I declare that I can find no person more capable than myself to manage properly the affairs of our religion. Yes," resumed he, on finding that they all observed silence, "and you have already had a trial of my government. You know what you may expect; and in my opinion you cannot without injustice refuse



"me your votes." It would be necessary to have a very pure conscience to hazard such a proposal in an assembly of rivals. Gozon was unanimously elected; and fulfilled the hopes which he had ventured to excite.

Heredia, the thirty-first grand-master, elected in 1375, gave to the knights a noble lesson of magnanimity. Having been taken prisoner by the Turks, the order offered, by way of ransom, to restore the castle of Patras in the Morea, besides a large sum of money, and the three principal dignitaries of the order as hostages till it should be paid. When the hostages arrived with several knights to set him at liberty, he said, "My dear brothers, suffer an old man, whose life, by the course of nature, can be of no long duration, to die in his chains; and do you, who are young, save yourselves for the service of religion." He forbade his ransom to be taken from the treasury of the order, and added: "If it must be paid, my family have received from me sufficient property to shew towards me this mark of gratitude." He remained three years in a state of severe captivity; and was at last ransomed by his family. The grand-masters, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, were often obliged to quit Rhodes, and to appear at the court of the popes, who interfered with the affairs of the order. Their frequent ab-

sence caused a great relaxation of discipline in the island. Besides, the knights were fond of these journeys; during which they could exempt themselves, without scandal, from the severity of their rules, as they were well received by the christian princes; and, on account of their great experience, often employed as arbiters in important affairs. They negotiated also for themselves. Under Philibert de Naillac, the thirty-second grand-master, the order purchased the Morea; but the inhabitants refused to submit to their government. This grand-master and his successors maintained an active warfare on all these coasts, and on that of Egypt. The Saracens and the Turks always found themselves opposed by the knights, in all the expeditions which they undertook. The obstinacy of their attacks and resistance made the mussulmen resolve, about the year 1428, to take Rhodes, and to drive from their seas these troublesome enemies. Their first attempts for this purpose were made in 1480, under Peter d'Aubusson, the thirty-eighth grand-master.

The grand-vizier Paleologue, a Greek renegade of the imperial house, was entrusted with the management of the siege by Mahomet, the conqueror of Constantinople. He landed with a large army, and every assistance necessary for so important an operation. The renegade spared neither the blood of his soldiers nor his trea-

sures. He employed treachery also, and attempted to cause the grand-master to be poisoned or assassinated, in which he had nearly succeeded. He endeavoured to gain over the inhabitants by promises, and to intimidate them by threats. The assaults were made in rapid succession, but without effect, on account of the unshaken valour of the knights, and the bravery of the soldiers, whom they had carried thither with them from all parts of Europe, and who under such chiefs were invincible. He tried to induce the grand-master to capitulate, by representing to him the wretched state of the place, the walls being razed, the towers battered down, and the ditches filled up. "The city," replied the intrepid D'Aubusson, "is strong enough while defended by the knights. We have all one heart and one mind, directed towards one single object—the defense of the faith, and the honour and glory of our order. Men who do not fear death are stronger than walls or bastions."

Some of the knights, however, moved by the picture drawn by Paleologue's envoy of the horrors committed in a town taken by assault, pillage, massacre, and the insults offered to wives and daughters, were inclined to negotiate. D'Aubusson being informed of this disposition sent for them, and as if they had no longer been his brethren said: "Gentlemen, if any of you



“ do not think yourselves safe in the place, the  
“ gates are not so closely blockaded as to prevent  
“ me from finding means to convey you from  
“ it.” After a short pause, he added with an  
air of authority and indignation: “ But if you  
“ wish to remain speak no more of capitulat-  
“ ing, else I will put you all to death!” These  
menacing words overwhelmed the knights with  
shame and confusion; they threw themselves  
at his feet, and promised to expiate by their  
blood this emotion of weakness. D'Aubusson  
set them an example, as he always appeared at  
the most dangerous post. The vizier engaged  
twelve of his bravest warriors to force their  
way to the grand-master during an assault, and  
to free him from this formidable adversary: they  
gave him five wounds, but they did not prove  
mortal. The knights, seeing the blood of their  
chief shed, were animated with more courage,  
and throwing themselves among the Turks on  
the ramparts, pursued them to their camp, from  
which they retired to their ships in confusion  
and completely routed.

D'Aubusson's reputation has been sullied by  
the conduct which he observed towards Zizim.  
This prince having sought an asylum at Rhodes,  
against the malevolence of the emperor Bajazet,  
his brother, met with a favourable reception.  
The grand-master took every precaution to pro-  
tect him from the poniard, from poison, and the

other snares which his brother laid for him; but he listened to the insidious offers of the Ottoman monarch, and on receiving the promise of a considerable sum and other advantages for the order, he consented to become jailor to the prince, whom he might have employed to kindle up a civil war among the Turks. Zizim complained loudly of this base contract, but he had not yet attained to the end of his sufferings. The pope demanded also to have him in his power, for the good of christianity, as he pretended, and in order to make the Turks behave with respect. Contrary to the promise given to Bajazet that he would always keep in his own hands the unfortunate prince, for whose maintenance he paid a large sum, d'Aubuffon gave him up, and, as is said, without any view of interest; but why was he appointed cardinal, a dignity so little suited to a warrior like him? On what account did he obtain so many favours for his order, and besides others the union of those of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus to that of St. John? He was originally the author of the death of the mussulman prince, whom Alexander VI. it is said, caused to be poisoned for the sum of three hundred thousand ducats.

The brave defense of d'Aubuffon did not abate the desire which the Turks had to get possession of Rhodes. Soliman, their emperor, publicly declared that he was resolved to make

a conquest of the island. The order opposed to him Villiers de l'Isle Adam, the forty-second grand master, elected in 1521, who employed himself without remission in making the necessary preparations to repel the threatened invasion. After some friendly invitations, Soliman sent a summons to the grand-master to give up the island. In case of compliance he promised him every kind of good treatment and favour; "but if you do not speedily shew," said he, "due deference to our orders, you shall all feel the vengeance of our formidable sword; and the towers and bastions of the walls of Rhodes shall be reduced to the height of the grass which grows at the bottom of these fortifications." This threat was supported by a strong army. As soon as disembarked it commenced its operations against the place, but the soldiers being vigorously repulsed in several assaults began to lose courage.

Soliman, informed of their murmurs, hastened thither himself, and landing at the head of fifteen thousand picked men, ordered all the troops to appear before him without arms. He then caused his escort to surround them, and having reproached them severely with a terrible look and menacing voice, on a preconcerted signal the fifteen thousand men drew their sabres, and held them suspended over the heads of the culprits. The generals threw themselves



at his feet, and begged he would pardon them, while they all, with loud cries, implored for mercy. The sultan suffered himself to be appeased. "In compliance with your intreaties," said he, "I shall suspend punishing the guilty, but let them seek pardon on the bastions and bulwarks of the enemy." The assault which took place after this scene was terrible, and was followed by others no less murderous. Soliman, however, might not have been more successful in his enterprize than Mahomet, had he not found a traitor in the town, and even in the council, the chancellor of the order, who gave him information of every thing that passed, and made him acquainted with the measures he ought to pursue. Jealousy alone, and revenge for not having been elected grand-master, induced this member of the order to be guilty of such an act of perfidy. He was indeed detected and punished; but having been entrusted with the care of procuring provisions and ammunition, the town, by his malicious treachery, was found to be destitute of these necessities, which hastened its surrender.

The terms of the capitulation, which was as favourable as could be expected by a city reduced to the last extremity, were faithfully observed, Soliman treated the grand-master with every mark of respect and distinction. Villiers, though oppressed with grief, did not fail to provide for

the safety of those who quitted the island. Besides the knights, more than four thousand of the inhabitants followed the fortune of the order. The grand-master embarked the last, after having sent notice to those who were dispersed to join him at Candia. When they were all nearly assembled he set out for Italy, and stopped by the way at Messina. When their arrival was announced, the whole city went out to meet them. Instead of the usual religious flag they had hoisted a banner, on which was represented the blessed Virgin holding her son dead in her arms, with this legend: *Afflictis spes ultima rebus*—My last resource in affliction. Vows were offered up by all the spectators for their venerable leader. The viceroy offered him, in the name of Charles V. the town and harbour of Messina, as a place of shelter for his fleet. The bishop, the grandees, the nobility, and the people, with melancholy and silent admiration, testified how much they were interested in his fate.

He was conducted to the palace amidst gloomy silence, while regret, for having been obliged to deliver into the hands of the infidels an island where his predecessors had reigned with so much glory, was manifested by his actions, words, and even looks; but his grief did not, in the least, abate his vigilance. He bestowed the utmost care on the sick and the wounded; and procured them every assistance in

his power. When his followers were a little recovered he again set sail ; disembarked in the gulph of Baia, and went to see what hopes would be afforded him by the pope. He could get nothing from Adrian VI. but promises, and would have remained in a state of the utmost embarrassment had not death carried off this pope, who seemed to be little affected by his own misfortunes or those of his followers. He was succeeded by Julius of Medici, who had himself been of the religious order of Malta. The first service he rendered to it was by a bull which forbade the members to separate, and by these means he prevented its dissolution, which appeared to be unavoidable.

He assigned to them for their abode Viterbo, a place in the ecclesiastical states, until they could find one more convenient. After many negotiations, in which the disinterestedness of Charles V. does not appear to much advantage, he ceded to them the island of Malta, under the burthen-some condition of their undertaking the defense of the city of Tripoli, which required a strong garrison and great expence. The grand-master, not being able to do any thing better, accepted the proposed terms. The order took possession of the island in 1530 ; and acquired from it the name of the knights of Malta, which they still retain. Villiers de l'Isle Adam employed himself in fortifying the island, which he found in a



defenceless state, and died at a very advanced age. The following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies virtue, victorious over fortune."

The precautions taken by P'ile Adam to fortify the new residence of the order, served to defeat a second enterprize of Soliman. Being incensed to find that these pretended pirates, of whom he wished to clear the neighbouring seas by taking Rhodes, continued to infest them, he gave orders to Sinan Bassa, whom he had sent to besiege Tripoli, to destroy in his passage that nest of robbers; but when Sinan had landed and considered attentively the castle of St. Angelo, and the bulwarks, he said to the corsair Dragut, who pressed him to begin an attack: "Dost thou see that castle? The eagle certainly could not place its nest on the summit of a steeper rock; to reach it we ought to have wings like the eagle, for all the troops in the world would never be able to force it." That he might not, however, entirely disoblige Dragut, Sinan ravaged the island, and laid siege to the capital; but the gallant resistance of the inhabitants obliged him to retire. Soliman still made against the order in 1565, under John de la Valette, the forty-seventh grand-master, the last important attack which it experienced. A man who should sit down in his closet, to imagine the most unexpected and

singular events that could take place, in the course of a siege, would not be able to invent any more extraordinary than those which have been traced out by the historian of Malta. He did not resolve to write this kind of romance till after waiting a long time in vain for the real memoirs which had been promised him ; and he said when they arrived : “ They are too late ; I “ am sorry for it ; my siege is completed.” This anecdote, if true, may serve to keep us on our guard against those historians who are too fond of panegyric ; but though the details may be heightened, it is certain that greater firmness, bravery, and activity could not be displayed, than were exhibited by the grand-master and his knights. Lavalette was wounded in the breach, and when some of his friends wished him to retire, he replied : “ At the age of “ seventy-one, can I finish my life more gloriously “ than by dying with my brethren ?” The Turks being repulsed with the utmost bravery, withdrew never again to appear on that land, which had been drenched with their blood ; and Lavalette on the principal emplacement, the theatre of his glory, built a town, which, after his own name, he called Lavalette. The convent and habitation of the knights were removed thither. In order that the work might not be interrupted, when money failed, they paid in copper, which was afterwards called in and the

full value given for it. The inscription on it was, *Non æs, sed fides* : It is not the metal, but confidence.

In 1724 a truce was concluded with the Turks for twenty-one years, subject to renewal if the parties should think proper. While it continued, the Maltese were to enjoy, in the states of the grand-seignior, the same privileges as the French. They stipulated also for the exchange and ransoming of slaves. The sultan agreed not to give any assistance to the Barbary states ; and the treaty was to be void when any of the christian princes were at war with the Porte. Malta this year surrendered to the French, and in all probability the order will be destroyed for ever.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY

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